Stakeholders, Conservation and Socio-economic Development: the case of Mapungubwe Cultural Landscape World Heritage Site, South Africa

by

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I. Declaration

I, **Pascall Taruvinga**, hereby declare that the work on which this dissertation is based is my original work (except where acknowledgements indicate otherwise) and that neither the whole work nor any part of it has been, is being, or is to be submitted for another degree in this or any other university.

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II. Dedication

This thesis is dedicated to my parents, the “twins”, Mathew and Sarah Taruvinga, for being a blessing to our family. Thank you for sacrificing all your harvests to see me through my education and becoming who I am today. I will never be able to fully repay you for your prayers, sacrifices and love. Your grandchildren shall benefit from what you have deposited in me as your son.

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With God, nothing is impossible.

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VII. List of Abbreviations

ABs	Advisory Bodies
ASAPA	Association of Southern African Professional Archaeologists
AU	African Union
AWHF	African World Heritage Fund
BRICS	Brazil, Russia, India, China and South Africa
CAADP	Comprehensive Africa Agricultural Development Programme
CALS	Centre for Applied Legal Studies
CEP	Community Engagement Policy
CoAL	Coal of Africa
COMESA	Common Market for East and Southern Africa
DAC	Department of Arts and Culture
DEA	Department of Environmental Affairs
DMR	Department of Mineral Resources
DWA	Department of Water Affairs
ECOWAS	Economic Community of West African States
EIA	Environmental Impact Assessment
EPPs	Ex Political Prisoners
EPWP	Expanded Public Works Programme
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
GMTFCA	Greater Mapungubwe Transfrontier Conservation Area
HDI	Human Development Index
HIA	Heritage Impact Assessment
ICCROM	International Centre for the Study of the Preservation and Restoration of Cultural Property
ICOMOS	International Council on Monuments and Sites
IDCS	Indigenous and Descendant Communities
IMF	International Monetary Fund
IMP	Integrated Management Plans
IUCN	International Union on Conservation of Nature

LEDET	Limpopo Department of Economic Development
MAG	Mapungubwe Action Group
MCLWHS	Mapungubwe Cultural Landscape World Heritage Site
MDGs	Millennium Development Goals
METT	Management Effectiveness Tracking Tool
MIP	Minimum Integration Programme
MMST	Multiple and Multi-Layered Stakeholder Theory
MNP	Mapungubwe National Park
MRPRDA	Minerals and Petroleum Resources Development Act of 2002
NAC	National Art Council
NCA	Ngorongoro Conservation Area
NDPs	National Development Plans
NDT	National Department of Tourism
NEPAD	New Partnership for Africa's Development
NGOs	Non-Governmental Organisations
NHRA	National Heritage Resources Act of 1999
NMMZ	National Museums and Monuments of Zimbabwe
OUV	Outstanding Universal Value
PHRAs	Provincial Heritage Resources Authority
PIDA	Programme for Infrastructural Development in Africa
PPF	Peace Park Foundation
RIWHS	Robben Island World Heritage Site
SA	South Africa
SADC	Southern Africa Development Community
SAHRA	South Africa Heritage Resources Agency
SANParks	South African National Parks
SAWHCC	South African World Heritage Convention Committee
SBMS	State-Based-Management Systems
SD	Sustainable Development
SDGs	Sustainable Development Goals
SIP	Social Investment Programme

SMC	Save Mapungubwe Coalition
SMF	Site Managers Forum
SOC	State of Conservation
TFCA	Transfrontier Conservation Area
TMS	Traditional Management Systems
TMS	Traditional Management Systems
UB	University of Botswana
UCT	University of Cape Town
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
UZ	University of Zimbabwe
WHS	World Heritage Sites

VIII. Abstract

The strategic importance of World Heritage sites in addressing social needs is now well recognised in Africa and elsewhere. However, the contribution of these sites to socio-economic development is rarely a topic of empirical investigation and is mostly implied. It is in this context that research was performed on stakeholder-driven conservation and socio-economic development processes, using Mapungubwe Cultural Landscape World Heritage Site (South Africa) as the case study. The study solicited the views and opinions of 243 participants, using a dynamic and mixed methodology which combined desktop studies, questionnaire surveys, interviews and Delphi techniques. This mixed methodology was premised on the Multiple-Multi-Layered Stakeholder Theory (MMST). The main findings of the thesis are that conservation and socio-economic development are equally important and should co-exist as stakeholder-driven processes at Mapungubwe Cultural Landscape World Heritage Site (MCLWHS). This supports the notion of caring for the well-being of both heritage and society. The study also established that, while there are benefits associated with World Heritage, the lack of credible statistics and the absence of monitoring indicators mean that its contribution to socio-economic development is not quantified. In addition, the study reveals that, while Mapungubwe Cultural Landscape World Heritage Site (MCLWHS) has multiple stakeholders with different expectations and levels of power, these are not involved in the decision-making processes at the site. This creates challenges that impede the full realization of both conservation and socio-economic benefits at MCLWHS, which can only be addressed through adaptive management supported by creativity and innovation embedded in multi-pronged strategies. The results motivate for adoption of adaptive management approaches, "learning by doing", as opposed to a monolithic adherence to State-Based Management Systems. An adaptive approach promotes better communication flow between decision makers and all other stakeholders to ensure stakeholder-driven conservation and socio-economic development at World Heritage sites. Neither conservation nor socio-economic development plan for each other at World Heritage sites, yet both cannot be disassociated from their broader environment and related stakeholders. The study concludes that World Heritage governance should be about managing continuity and change as influenced by multiple stakeholders who are the beneficiaries of both conservation and developments at heritage sites. World Heritage has potential to contribute massively to socio-economic development in and around host communities without eroding its credibility and integrity.

Chapter 1: Introduction

1.1 Brief Background

The study seeks to understand conservation and socio-economic development as a stakeholder-driven process at Mapungubwe Cultural Landscape World Heritage Site (MCLWHS) (Fig 1.1), with an emphasis on identifying stakeholders at the site, their role and responsibilities in conservation, their views on the benefits of protecting the site, how socio-economic issues should be handled at the sites, and understanding whether engaging all stakeholders helps in reconciling conservation and socio-economic development at the site towards building a futuristic management approach. The study applied a mixed research methodology to obtain the views and opinions of the multiple and multi-layered stakeholders at Mapungubwe Cultural Landscape World Heritage Site (Limpopo Province, South Africa). The research framework is premised on understanding whether there is need to shift heritage management from its conservative traditional approaches of State-Based Management Systems (SBMS) to adaptive management approaches (Halbert, 1993; Smith 2006). World Heritage has to find ways of responding to broader socio-economic needs of society within the local environments of the site.

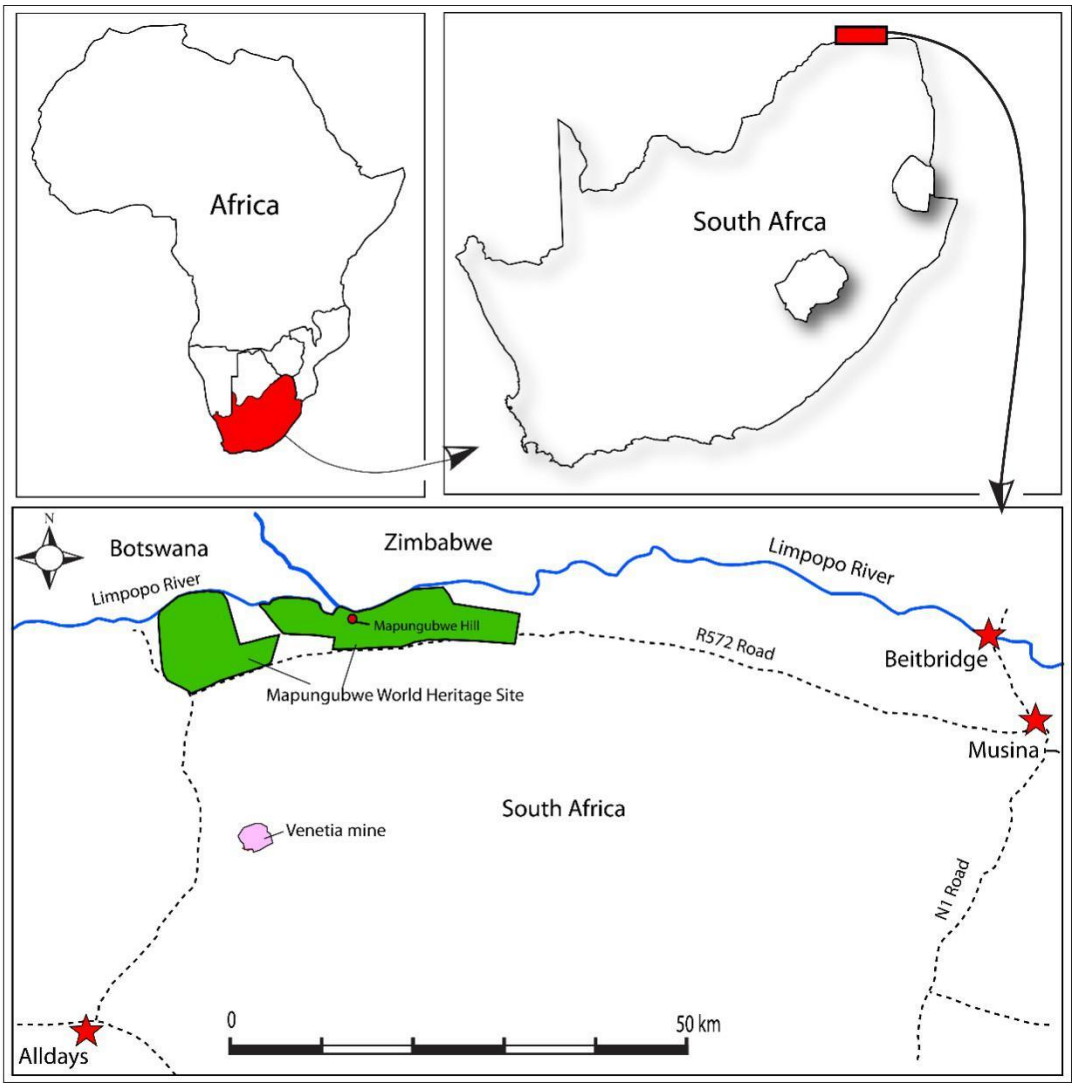

Figure 1.1: Map showing location of Mapungubwe Cultural Landscape

The view that heritage is solely protected for posterity is entrenched in the colonial and World Heritage notions of conservation, which have influenced the domineering State-Based Management Systems being used in Africa and elsewhere (Mumma, 2003; Smith 2006; Ndoro & Wijesuriya, 2014). However, such views are limited, as heritage is first and foremost a local resource with multiple use values to different stakeholders (including local communities). It contributes to socio-economic development benefiting stakeholders in different ways. In Africa, this can be traced back to the pre-colonial period (Igboin, 2011). During the pre-colonial period in Africa, local communities preserved and used heritage, including other resources within the

broader area of the sites for their own benefit (Igboin, 2011; Keitumetse, 2007). State-Based Management Systems in Africa have their roots in colonialism (Mumma, 2003). The biased framework inherited from the colonial system still influences heritage management on the continent (Ndoro & Wijesuriya, 2016). However, considerable progress has been made in the post-colonial era, in which many countries in Africa have adopted adaptive strategies which aimed at positioning conservation towards achieving positive socio-economic values for the benefit of the multiple stakeholders at heritage sites (Chirikure *et al.*, 2016). Adaptive strategy is positioning conservation to respond to socio-economic development needs of society through involvement of stakeholders. What has not been interrogated is whether these adaptive strategies are bringing together conservation and socio-economic development at World Heritage sites in Africa as a stakeholder-driven process. 'Stakeholder-driven process' means multiple and multi-layered stakeholders with different interests and desired outputs are involved in the decision-making process at World Heritage sites for their mutual benefit.

Whether this adaptive strategy is in sync with the World Heritage concept ratified by African State Parties is debatable. Critics of the World Heritage concept assert that this concept appears to reinforce the application of the State-Based Management Systems born out of colonialism (Ndoro & Wijesuriya, 2016). The World Heritage concept is enshrined in the doctrinal texts of the "Convention concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage (commonly referred to as "the 1972 World Heritage Convention and its Operational Guidelines on the Implementation of the 1972 World Heritage Convention. The World Heritage concept protects local heritage considered to be of Outstanding Universal Value for posterity, and the management of such heritage is the responsibility of State Parties themselves (Rossler, 2007). The World Heritage concept itself flows from a futuristic desire to save heritage from the impacts of socio-economic developments as was the case with the Abu Simbel Temples in Egypt (Donnacie, 2010; Abu-Zeid & El-Shibini, 2010; McCartney, 2009; Kashef, 1981). The temple was eventually relocated to pave the way for the Aswan Dam (Donnacie, 2010). The Aswan dam represents a solution to local need (shortage of water for multipurpose use) that had to be addressed, but at the same time preserving heritage for the future (relocation process). This trade-off has not been consistently and successfully repeated in developing nations (Donnacie, 2010). The result has been that the relationship between conservation and socio-economic development has remained in a

tensional mode for a long time (Jokiletho & Cameron, 2008, 2011; Labadi, 2013; Meskell, 2013, 2015). There has been a loud call that World Heritage sites should have benefits for stakeholders that are beyond conservation (see Meskell, 2013; Ndoro & Wijesuriya, 2014). Heritage is thus expected to contribute in a meaningful way to livelihoods of stakeholders (including communities). This contribution can be measured in the manner in which World Heritage facilitates socio-economic development at local levels.

Socio-economic development is concerned with meeting the needs of the society using both renewable and non-renewable resources available in a geographic place (Nkoana-Mashabane, 2013). Africa, as a developing continent, is faced with cardinal challenges of poverty, food and water insecurity, population growth, unemployment and inequality, the negative impact of external geo-political environments, poor infrastructure, energy crisis and civil conflicts that exacerbate their already dire socio-economic conditions (Nkoana-Mashabane, 2013:19; Meskell, 2016). Socio-economic development manifests as agriculture (small- and large-scale operations), dam constructions, infrastructural development (roads, bridges and social infrastructure), extractive industries, urbanization, industrialization, energy projects, tourism initiatives, among many others (Nkoana-Mashabane, 2013; UNDP, 2017). For instance, the term 'extractive industries' refers to exploration, mining of minerals, and extraction of oil and gas through open-ground or underground processes at identified geo-locations. Socio-economic needs are localized aspirations manifesting in the same locations where World Heritage sites are situated. Socio-economic development is thus concerned with ensuring that local communities have access to livelihoods irrespective of whether they are sustainable or not. In the current understanding of State-Based Management Systems, what seems to be clear but contradicts the above, is that the poor generation of today is expected to bequeath resources to future generations without meeting its own needs in the contemporary era. For these reasons, implementing World Heritage to achieve socio-economic development, alongside its aspiration of conservation, is a priority in Africa.

The notion that World Heritage must contribute to socio-economic development is now deeply entrenched worldwide and it is also challenging the futuristic perspective of World Heritage. However, this notion lacks empirical evidence, on how it is influenced by stakeholders at World Heritage sites. Neither is there clarity on how heritage and socio-economic development embrace

each other from a planning process at World Heritage sites. The two aspects cannot be disassociated from their broader environment and their continued relevance to both the present and future generations. Their coexistence at World Heritage sites has created tensions that have characterized heritage management in Africa. This tension has become a matter of concern at such sites in developing nations, and this requires a pragmatic approach to solve it. While sustainable development principles have been applied to assist in this process, practical solutions have remained elusive to enablers, implementers and the supposed beneficiaries. Empirical data on how stakeholders influence conservation and development at World Heritage sites is still lacking, and this needs to be subjected to a systematic study. Without this empirical enquiry, our understanding of stakeholder-driven conservation and socio-economic development at World Heritage sites, in particular cultural landscapes, will remain very limited. Stakeholder influence in World Heritage management remains in the theoretical realm of the enabling policies and numerous recommendations developed over the past two decades by State Parties. In light of the above, this study explores how conservation and socio-economic development are influenced by the opinions and views of stakeholders at World Heritage sites towards defining responsive strategies. The study employs a mixed methodological approach to elicit the opinions and views of stakeholders at MCLWHS.

1.2 Heritage Management Systems in Africa

The history of the African continent shows that local communities cared for their heritage before being colonized (Jopela, 2016). Local communities also utilized resources around their heritage places for their own survival. All this was done through what is today referred to as Traditional Management Systems (Igboin, 2011; Jopela, 2016). Colonialism meant dispossession, social dislocation and social transition of rural black people from owners to servants of colonialists and their repressive systems (Ndoro & Wijesuriya, 2014). These communities continue to be marginalized in the general administration and the management of their own heritage through a complex matrix of Western-influenced legislation and policies enacted during colonial period (Mumma, 2002, 2003; Ndoro & Wijesuriya, 2015; Ndoro *et al*., 2018). It is further argued that foreign "economic and religious values" were both promoted in the colonies (Okoduwa, 2008:18; Igboin, 2011). The empirical data demonstrating this lies in the "exploitation" and "vitrification"

of such values that "characterised the colonial period" (Okoduwa, 2008: 18). Colonialism did not take into consideration the long-defined aspirations and use values of local communities (Pwiti & Ndoro, 2001). However, the matter is not about how good or bad the colonial practices in the management of heritage were, but rather, how they failed to be inclusive by embracing other use values of heritage in the pre-colonial period. This inclusive and local approach to management of heritage has not been given centre stage in defining the relationship between conservation and socio-economic development in the post-colonial period of Africa (Chirikure, *et al.*, 2016; Ndoro *et al*. 2018).

From colonial times, and even in the contemporary framework, heritage management has been beset with principles and a mind-set of safeguarding the irreplaceable past which is now under threat from multiple factors (Logan & Reeves, 2009). The inherited colonial heritage laws and systems have heavily influenced the concepts of heritage, its identification and protection, including the ethos and approaches in Africa (Goh, 2008; Ndoro & Wijesuriya, 2014). For instance, colonial environmentalism concluded that "natives did not understand their own heritage" and if it was left in their custody, it would be destroyed (Nelson, 2003: 71). This colonial "authoritarian conservation perspective" has persisted with minimal changes on the African continent (Nelson, 2003: 71). The aforementioned colonial laws and systems have defined the ownership of heritage by State Parties and how the sites should be used through State-Based Management Systems that still alienate local communities, except in cases where Traditional Management Systems are established (Abungu, 2016; Jopela, 2016; Goh, 2008; Michael & Negri, 2000).

It is clear that colonial legislation did not provide modalities on how heritage can be used in facilitating the socio-economic development of the society from the beginning (Pwiti & Ndoro 1999; Ndoro, 2004)). Where tourism development occurred in the colonial period, this was established as an enclave for foreign tourists or district commissioners, as was the case of Rhodesia (now Zimbabwe). These Commissioners were legally empowered to look after heritage sites in their districts, especially the British Pioneer Column forts, rock art sites and stoned-walled sites associated with Zimbabwe culture. This legal arrangement was not meant to benefit local African communities at all. Though political independence and democracy in Africa have become a

prevalent phenomenon, these have not witnessed changed heritage management practices beyond the narrow window of conservation (Ndoro & Chirikure, 2009:72).

At an African level, the African Union (AU) Charter for African Cultural Renaissance (2006) states that heritage has to play full part in political, economic and social liberation of society, but this has not yet been developed beyond the theoretical ambits of this goodwill. Heritage management practices in Africa are still suffering from colonial hangovers and exogenous concepts that are not sympathetic to how heritage has been managed and used in the pre-colonial period (Taruvinga & Souayibou, 2013). Post-colonial heritage practices and practitioners in Africa still have much more in common with their colonial authorities than how they connect with local communities (Ndoro & Wijesuriya, 2014). When this is reviewed against the ratification and application of the 1972 1972 World Heritage Convention in Africa, it shows that the State-Based Heritage management systems are further reinforced while communities are marginalized.

1.3 World Heritage Concept in Africa

The United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), was established in 1945, as a community of nations (State Parties) governed by the United Nations intergovernmental framework for international cooperation (UNESCO, 1987). It has a mandate for international cooperation through the promotion of peace and security, education, science and culture (UNESCO, 1987). This cooperation is implemented through a plethora of international legal instruments which State Parties should ratify in order to use them. One such instrument is the 1972 World Heritage Convention, which provides for the inscription of local heritage sites on the prestigious World Heritage List. Such local sites are considered to have "Outstanding Universal Value" (OUV). The term 'OUV' refers to "cultural and/or natural significance" which is so "exceptional as to transcend national boundaries and to be of common importance for present and future generations of all humanity" (Operational Guidelines, 2017: 49). The sites should also meet the test of authenticity and/or integrity, and should have management systems in place. The 1972 World Heritage Convention is an important awareness step in raising "the moral obligation of humanity as a whole to respect and safeguard natural and cultural properties which are of Outstanding Universal Value" (Von Droste, 2012a:10; 2012b).

Traditionally, the World Heritage concept has been more concerned with conservation, but of late, the use of heritage in meeting the socio-economic needs of stakeholders has taken centre stage in numerous discussions (Meskell, 2013). What is lagging behind in these discussions is the empirical understanding of the views and opinions of stakeholders in balancing conservation and socio-economic development at World Heritage sites. In addition, Africa has not sufficiently harnessed its inscribed heritage sites to promote socio-economic development for the benefit of society (Ndoro & Wijesuriya, 2014). The obvious benefits of World Heritage include being part of a global community dedicated to conservation, access to funding for conservation, international cooperation and support for developing management plans and highly controlled tourism (Donnachie, 2010: 118). Stakeholders living at World Heritage sites in Africa are not benefiting in a meaningful and measurable way from their own heritage. As such, there is a growing feeling that the 1972 World Heritage Convention and the related Operational Guidelines are unfriendly towards socio-economic development as they make it impossible for African countries to exploit renewable and non-renewable resources in order to meet developmental goals (DAC & AWHF, 2014). In addition, the 1972 World Heritage Convention has been criticized for promoting and sustaining Western conservation approaches in Africa, thereby perpetuating the alienation of communities and their traditional management systems (Abungu, 2016; Meskell, 2013).

For centuries, development has always been viewed as a threat to conservation of heritage in western derived systems of conservation. This has its roots in the long-standing historical problems associated with establishing protected areas and gazetting of monuments (Ndoro & Wijesuriya, 2014; Ndoro & Chirikure, 2009; Chirikure & Pwiti, 2008). This has continued with World Heritage sites being carved out of territories once owned by local communities, but these were displaced without any compensation during the colonial period (Borona, 2015). Faced with development threats, the 1972 World Heritage Convention enforces compliance with conservation principles and protocols, while the State Parties fearing political retribution from the electorate try to balance international commitments and local development aspirations. The World Heritage concept and related domestic heritage laws assume that the needs of the world community should override the needs of locals in order to maintain the Outstanding Universal Value of inscribed sites (Meskell,

2013; Harrison, 2010). The role and opinions of stakeholders are still ill-defined and not properly understood in this process.

1.4 World Heritage and Socio-economic Development

While World Heritage has been perceived as a political tool, economic resource and a human right, the views and opinions of people living with it are not always taken into consideration (Istasse, 2016). This often leads to such people being denied "heritage competence" by State Authorities as they are considered not to have been educated on preservation matters (Istasse, 2016: 37). Although they are living there, they are only afforded a chance to come into contact with their heritage sites through heavily controlled tourism (Istasse, 2016; Joy, 2016). These people have "senses" about these sites; this relates to how people perceive beauty, harmony and sense of calmness (Istasse, 2016: 37). On the other hand, they also have "effects", which relate to how they care about the beauty perspective, physical and ontological security view points of the sites, as well as the biographic aspects, souvenirs, nostalgia and sadness when a building is destroyed (Istasse, 2016: 37). While senses and effects are not the focus of this study, they do, however, have a bearing on understanding the values that local communities attach to World Heritage properties (Turtinen, 2000; Smith, 2006; Jokiletho & Cameron, 2008). For instance, World Heritage status is used to justify and promote tourism at Fez Medina World Heritage site in Morocco, and at the same time promoting preservation implemented by the State Party (Istasse, 2016). However, the World Heritage status of Fez Medina does "not occupy the front stage in the daily lives of Fez Medina inhabitants" as it does not address their senses and effects (Istasse, 2016:53). Their long experiences with the houses are what gives them this connection with the site from various emotional perspectives (Istasse, 2016).

The World Heritage Committee and State Parties have for a long time recognized the ambiguous and tension-characterised relationship between conservation and socio-economic development at World Heritage sites. When the global discrepancies in human development are factored in, issues relating to World Heritage and socio-economic development become politically charged. As of 2017, the Human Development Index (HDI) showed that Norway, Australia, Switzerland, Germany and Denmark are ranked high, while African countries are ranked low on the list (UNDP,

2017). This has become a litmus test of the implementation of the 1972 World Heritage Convention. The paradox is that the HDI low ranking demands accelerated and State-driven socio-economic development, but at the same time, State Parties are expected to protect heritage in tandem with acceptable conservation practices. The overall contribution of development is measured through indicators such as Gross Domestic Product (GDP), life expectancy, levels of literacy and employment and poverty reduction (UNDP, 2017). The contribution of World Heritage in these indicators is currently unknown and not measured. This places the 1972 World Heritage Convention in a situation where it can no longer remain operating in a global and social vacuum in relation to the needs emanating from the local context of the World Heritage sites (Meskell, 2014). This study needs to establish how World Heritage contribution to development should be measured.

The relationship between World Heritage and socio-economic development cannot be complete without understanding the term Sustainable Development (SD). Sustainable Development is defined as "development that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs" (WCED, 1987: 43). The original and three main pillars of sustainable development are economic growth, environmental protection and social equality (WCED, 1987: 43). While UNESCO attempted to make culture become the fourth pillar contributing to development through social inclusion and poverty reduction, this was not successful (see Bokova, 2013). This denotes how heritage remains at the periphery of development. Of importance to World Heritage is the Sustainable Development Goal (SDGs) 11, and in particular Target 11.4, which highlights the need to "protect and safeguard the world's cultural and natural heritage" (UN, 2015). The SDGs were adopted after the African Union's (AU) 2063 Agenda adopted in 2013. The AU 2063 Agenda highlighting the vision of Africa as "The Future We Want for Africa" was adopted by Heads of State and the African Union, as an African proposal to solve African problems which share the global aspirations and objectives of the SDGs. In this study, Sustainable Development is treated as a secondary but critical framework for ensuring that both conservation and socio-economic development embrace principles of sustainability. Though sustainable development does make scientific sense, not all developments are sustainable, hence the need to understand the views and roles of the involved stakeholders. This notion has not been adequately researched at World Heritage sites. Merging World Heritage

and socio-economic development at a practical level in Africa remains a grey area (Eyong *et al.*, 2006; Meskell, 2014) and this is an aspect that this thesis will focus on.

Historically, it is evident that Traditional Management Systems (TMS) and use of heritage for socio-economic livelihoods were in existence before formal heritage legislation was enacted in Africa. Progressively, the formal legislation, borrowed from the developed nations, was introduced to protect heritage at local levels using experiences from international practices. World Heritage is another international practice and conservation layer finding its expression in the local context of heritage in developing nations which are challenged with socio-economic needs. What is not clear is how World Heritage interfaces with this local context, in particular what "happens when the reverence for heritage collides with other value orientations and livelihood needs?" at sites (Brumann & Berliner, 2016: 1). Regardless of the globalization processes, the localities of World Heritage sites retain their own social dynamics (Brumann & Berliner, 2016). What is erroneous in this process is that World Heritage subjects these social dynamics and localities to globalization without giving them an opportunity to express themselves in the process (Brumann & Berliner, 2016). Humanity is given rights over the site via globally distributed language and conventions, while local people are kept at a distance, yet they have used and co-existed with this heritage for many centuries (Brumann & Berliner, 2016; Jopela, 2016).

Ethnographic studies on the views of the Tuareg on heritage in Mali, show that discourse on heritage matters remains "constrained to state-level conversations", thereby excluding other multiple and localised voices (Joy, 2016: 64; Blacik, 2007). Therefore, positioning protection of heritage into the future without considering other needs or these social dynamics is a narrow way of reading heritage given its multiple social dimensions in the present and future society. World Heritage, as opposed to the local dimensions of heritage, perpetuates posterity as the only rationale for protection without considering its broader use value to different stakeholders in the present and the future. How World Heritage brings local communities closer to the global wider use is not practically and adequately understood (Brumann & Berliner, 2016). In addition, how World Heritage is placed in the wider geography and social space with stakeholders who have varying interests is not clearly understood (Brumann & Berliner, 2016). In order to understand and

integrate these broader use values in World Heritage systems, there is a need to understand the opinions and views of stakeholders at World Heritage sites, which is the focus of this research.

It is also argued that when local opinions are split on conservation and socio-economic development, there is need to establish consensus (Brumann & Berliner, 2016:10). If the State Party has consensus with World Heritage Committee on the split opinion, the 1972 World Heritage Convention is then used to prioritize conservation over development, and this creates tension with affected stakeholders (Brumann & Berliner, 2016). In a situation where there is domestic consensus between State Party and stakeholders, the World Heritage becomes powerless and can only record decisions but cannot implement them (Brumann & Berliner, 2016). The point of the matter is that not understanding the views and opinions of these stakeholders under any of these circumstances is a disservice to the governance and future of World Heritage. World Heritage should not continue side-lining stakeholders, but rather find practical ways of involving them (Blacik, 2007). What is also worrisome is how stakeholders find it difficult to have their views and opinions heard by the World Heritage Committee sessions as they are considered permanent observers[1]. Neither is the whole issue around indigenous rights being respected or binding State Parties to the cause of local communities at World Heritage sites (Brumann & Berliner, 2016). This study seeks to collect opinions and views of stakeholders, including understanding how they are involved in the decision-making process at World Heritage sites.

1.5 Justification of the study

The aspiration of the World Heritage concept is promoting conservation supported by State Parties, while at local level, where such concepts are applied, stakeholder aspirations relate to their infrastructural realities, the socio-politics and impoverished settings of their State Parties as sovereign states (Meskell, 2016; Shackelford, 2008). The contrast in aspirations at global and local context of World Heritage sites requires that the views and opinions of stakeholders be solicited

[1] In terms of the 1972 World Heritage Convention, the World Heritage Committee is composed of States Parties to the Convention elected in accordance with Article 8 of the Convention. All the member States to the Convention are considered as observers during Committee Sessions. In terms of Rule 7 on Invitations for Consultations, public and private organisation or individuals are invited to participate in its session for consultation on particular matters. This is the category under which local communities and any other stakeholders are covered.

to bring the two closer to each other. It is evident from the afore-mentioned discussions that heritage is perceived beyond it being "a collection of monuments and buildings" relating to the past (Siravo, 2014:161). The monumentality approach is rooted in the traditional understanding of heritage preservation as a material science (Siravo, 2014). Some scholars present this as the "authorized heritage discourse" directed by State-Based Management Systems (Smith 2006). This monument mentality was equally embedded in the doctrinal texts of the 1964 Venice Charter, national heritage laws until recently with the acceptance of the new heritage typologies. Contrary to this strict scientific and rigid approach, it is now argued that the social and political construct of cultural heritage reflects and validates the "identity of nations, communities, families and even individuals" and aspirations beyond conservation thinking (Labadi and Logan 2015: xiii).

Cultural heritage is now perceived as representing a system of diverse entities with varied uses through time and space (Kalman, 2014). Cultural heritage can no longer be viewed as totally separate from its day-to-day use by stakeholders, and this matter can be traced back to the pre-colonial era (Siravo, 2014; Berkes & Davidson-Hunt *et al*., 2016). Understandably, it is in this daily use that threats to heritage also emanate from, and these need to be mitigated. When the 1972 World Heritage Convention is considered, it is noticeable that one of its guiding principles was the mitigation of such threats at World Heritage sites. It is only recently that the 1972 World Heritage Convention is trying to connect heritage and socio-development for the benefit of the broader society (Matthias, 2017). While the debates on the relationship between conservation and socio-economic development in Africa have intensified in the last two decades, these debates are now characterized by deepening differences between views and opinion. These are based on clashing perspectives and theories emanating from empirical studies which are often contradictory or ambiguous on these matters (Szirmai, 2005). This study attempts to explore the causes of these differences of views and opinions on conservation and socio-economic development in developing nations.

Within the State-Based Management Systems of African nations, the definition and use of heritage is still viewed and managed through systems, approaches and strategies inherited from the colonial period. The systems adopt the traditional linear communication system, yet local ways of heritage preservation 'have existed' from time immemorial (Joy, 2016; Matthias, 2017). The challenge is

that the colonial lenses and the linear communication systems do not factor the views and opinions of stakeholders on socio-economic needs. On the other hand, how systemic and multi-directional communication with stakeholders can open up opportunities for changing the approach still needs to be assessed (Matthias, 2017). The major question is, why keep heritage sites if they cannot benefit stakeholders? While principles of sustainable development and numerous international/regional recommendations have been used as a catalyst for balancing conservation and socio-economic development, it remains apparent that these concepts originate from exogenous social, economic and political contexts of the developed nations. Research is sometimes uncertain as to which model is best applicable (Szirmai, 2005). Therefore, there is need to interrogate and develop some synergy between conservation and development in order to have a model applicable at World Heritage sites. This requires empirical evidence gathering opinions and views of stakeholders at ground level, which is the main purpose of this study.

While a plethora of recommendations have been made on the relationship between conservation and socio-economic development, including inferences to stakeholder approaches, very little research has been carried out to solicit opinions and views of stakeholders towards doing things differently at World Heritage sites. The success of the 1972 World Heritage Convention on the African continent should not only be measured using the number of countries that have ratified the 1972 World Heritage Convention, nor the number of sites inscribed on the World Heritage List. Neither should it be measured by the number of sites not managed properly or placed on the List of World Heritage in Danger. Rather, it should also be measured against its success in promoting sustainable socio-economic development alongside conservation at World Heritage sites (Albert, 2012). Without such programmes, the 1972 World Heritage Convention will remain a structure of international bureaucracy pushing only Western concepts of conservation (Albert, 2012). The broader territorial dimensions of heritage in the fight against poverty in Africa have not been practically considered at World Heritage sites (Albert, 2012:41). The question is, how can World Heritage improve the stakeholder governance framework in order to reconcile conservation and socio-economic development at World Heritage sites? In this context, the seemingly dysfunctional relationship between conservation and socio-economic development needs further research from a stakeholder perspective.

Given the above synopsis, what is clearly missing in our current understanding of the relationship between conservation and socio-economic development at World Heritage sites are the opinions and views of stakeholders. World Heritage policies have not assisted in creating and enabling pragmatic solutions to the challenges bedevilling society. The actual benefits of World Heritage have not gone beyond the conservation and the prestigious propaganda of being on the World Heritage List. Furthermore, the post-colonial period has not adequately provided an opportunity to involve previously disenfranchised communities at World Heritage sites. These communities are now also part of the broader stakeholders that have to be considered in the governance matrixes of World Heritage sites. The continued enforcement of State-Based Management Systems has not helped either. Present interactions with stakeholders have remained fixed on the basis of past experiences, especially those emanating from the colonial period. The SBMS governance approach needs to be interrogated through the eyes of stakeholders.

In addition, the ethnographic studies at World Heritage sites have not gone beyond State Party rhetoric on community participation (Brumann & Berliner, 2016). It is in this context that this study juxtaposes conservation and socio-economic developments as a stakeholder-driven process using MCLWHS as a case study. MCLWHS is located in the Limpopo Province of South Africa (see Figure 1.1). The site has a long history illustrating an important interchange of human values and different land uses that can be traced from the pre-colonial period to the present (Pikirayi, 2016; DEA, 2014; Carruthers, 2006; Hall & Smith, 2000; Huffman, 2000; 2005). Cultural landscapes such as the MCLWHS are complex systems given "their scale, different land use systems and multiple ownerships" (Selman, 2004: 366; Brown & Mitchell, 2000). This offers an opportunity for such stakeholder-related studies. Also, the presence of non-cultural resources in the same area has a bearing on the future of the site and this needs to be understood from a stakeholder perspective (Chirikure *et al.,* 2010). The divergence of stakeholder opinions on these matters lacks empirical studies that can bring out salient features of heritage conservation in the broader context of the societal needs (Chirikure *et al.,* 2010).

The choice of the MCLWHS as the primary case study was influenced by its four-tier status as a (i) National Park (in terms of Protected Areas Act and National Environmental Management Act), (ii) National Heritage site (in terms of National Heritage Resources Act of 1999), (iii) World

Heritage site (in terms of the 1972 World Heritage Convention), and lastly (iv), Transfrontier Conservation Area (TFCA), being an integral part of the proposed Greater Mapungubwe Transfrontier Conservation Area (GMTFCA) covering Botswana, South Africa and Zimbabwe (SANParks, 2015). The establishment of the GMTFCA involved a complex network of actors who have interest in the land and its resources (Sinthumule, 2016; 2017). These factors are critical in interrogating how stakeholders are relating to conservation and socio-economic development through time and space at MCLWHS. The study assumes that the MCLWHS setup has These alternative voices are not well understood in the broader context of the heritage management (Chirikure, *et al.*, 2010; Meskell, 2014; Pikirayi, 2016). Theoretically, the four-tier status of MCLWHS is supposed to bring together different stakeholders with varying interests in the same ecological basin known as the Greater Mapungubwe Area (Forssman, 2014; Huffman, 2009). This provides an opportunity to seek alternative voices on the subject matter by soliciting the opinions and views of different stakeholders at the site.

Stakeholder opinions and views on the evolving land use systems and the resultant contestations is not adequately understood at World Heritage sites. Furthermore, MCLWHS, with its history of land alienation in the past, is now facing multiple land claims by Indigenous and Descendant Communities (IDCs). This process has implications on the future use of the site irrespective of the existence of national laws that prescribe maintaining same land use upon changing the ownership of land in protected areas (SANParks, 2015). The views and opinions of stakeholders on these multiple aspects and their impact have not been adequately researched at MCLWHS.

1.6 Research Questions

1.5.1 *Main research question*

What are the opinions and views of stakeholders on the relationship between conservation and socio-economic development at MCLWHS?

1.5.2 Sub-research questions

1.5.2.1 What are the stakeholder profiles and their level of awareness on World Heritage at MCLWHS?

1.5.2.2 What are the roles and responsibilities of stakeholders in the management of MCLWHS?

1.5.2.3 What are the benefits of conservation and socio-economic developments at MCLWHS from a stakeholder perspective?

1.5.2.4 Does engaging all stakeholders help reconcile conservation and socio-economic development aspirations at MCLWHS?

1.7 Research Methodological Framework

The study used a mixed-method research approach which combines both quantitative and qualitative techniques to solicit and interrogate the views and opinions of multiple and multi-layered stakeholders at MCLWHS. The *"*Multiple & Multi-layered Stakeholder Theory (MMST)" adapted from the broader stakeholder theories was used as the integrative thread of this mixed methodological approach. 'Multiple' is defined as the engagement and involvement of more than one stakeholder, while 'Multi-layered' is defined as having two or more value-based stakeholders at a World Heritage Site. These could be from the past and present contexts of the site as identified through value based approach, historiography and archival analysis. Therefore, MMST is used in a combinative modality to refer to the many and overlaid stakeholders with varied interests beyond the scope of conservation at MCLWHS. In this context, qualitative research is defined as a non-experimental research that studies occurrence of social, cultural and political human behaviour (Salkind, 2012:13). It reveals important and underlying factors, as well as dealing with subjective data that is produced by respondents (Welman, *et al*, 2005). On the other hand, quantitative approach is a dynamic form of data analysis (Altheide, 1987) oriented towards "summarizing the informational contents of that data" (Sandelowski, 2000: 338). The mixed research methodology was based on a combination of desktop and primary sources surveys, self-reflexivity approach, interviews, archival analysis and field surveys based on a questionnaire. All these methods were linked and woven together using the adapted iterative principles of the Delphi technique. This adapted iterative process started with the desktop and primary sources surveys, followed by individual and focused group interviews, leading to a questionnaire used to gather further details among stakeholders at MCLWHS. Qualitative and quantitative data analysis methods were also used to interpret and present the opinions and views of stakeholders at MCLWHS.

1.8 Assumptions of the study

The first assumption of the study is that World Heritage is a global concept which is not necessarily sympathetic to localized social dimensions of heritage. The idea of 'World Heritage' was born out of notions nurtured outside the local or socio-economic context of the African sites (Matthias, 2017; Esposito & Gaulis, 2010; Brumann, 2009). These local contexts have stakeholders whose opinions and views have not been interrogated for the mutual benefit of both conservation and socio-economic development. While the concept of World Heritage has evolved over the decades, it has been slow in aligning itself to the needs and aspirations of stakeholders in Africa (Joy, 2016; Meskell, 2014; Rico, 2008). The second assumption is that World Heritage governance approach has remained controlled by State Parties, and this can be traced back to the colonial period. Though involvement of other stakeholders has been theoretically embraced in the Operational Guidelines on the Implementation of the 1972 World Convention, its practical application has not reached the ground levels at World Heritage sites. Such governance approach remains confined to the corporate world of developing nations. Furthermore, , very little has been written about the effectiveness of World Heritage governance in soliciting opinions and views of stakeholders at World Heritage Sites towards improving the synergy between conservation and socio-economic development.

All these assumptions, taken together, tentatively show that it is assumed that stakeholders do not have a say in how their heritage should be protected and used as part of resources available in their localities for exploitation to meet their socio-economic needs. Overall, the study assumes that World Heritage governance, with its conservation mandate, requires an inclusive stakeholder-driven approach to ensure greater synergy and collaboration between conservation and socio-economic development as a symbiotic rather than as an exclusive and conflictual relationship.

1.9 Overview of Chapters

Chapter 2: Heritage Management and Socio-economic Development in Africa

The chapter reviews World Heritage and socio-economic development within the geopolitical and socio-economic contexts, nationally, regionally and globally. Special emphasis is placed on the socio-economic needs of Africa and the evolving heritage management approaches in Africa. A cross-cutting aspect and critical to this study is the involvement of local communities and other role players in this process towards defining the term stakeholder, which is adopted for use in this study. Also, the role of sustainable development in balancing conservation and socio-economic development is reviewed. This builds up to a discussion on whether tension is present or not between conservation and socio-economic development at World Heritage sites. The chapter concludes that benefits of World Heritage are not comparable to those of socio-economic development projects. It also concludes that local communities and other role players are still marginalized in the decision-making process at World Heritage Sites.

Chapter 3: The Case Study: Mapungubwe Cultural Landscape World Heritage site

This chapter presents MCLWHS as the case study with an emphasis on its significance and outstanding universal value, management from the past to the present, and the emerging conservation, socio-economic and stakeholder issues. The chapter identifies emerging issues using the broader context of the site as a national park, national heritage, World Heritage and Transfrontier Conservation Area. The chapter also sets the foundation of identifying the stakeholders of MCLWHS.

Chapter 4: Who are the Stakeholders at MCLWHS?

The chapter identifies stakeholders at MCLWHS based on their spiritual connection with the landscape, recorded land uses, interests, and roles played from the pre-colonial period to the present. The related opportunities and challenges emerging from this historical analysis of stakeholders at MCLWHS is presented. In conclusion, the chapter presents the overarching

stakeholder interaction patterns, opinions and views at the MCLWHS in relation to conservation and socio-economic development. These views and opinions provide the foundation of developing a research framework and methodology to solicit empirical evidence at MCLWHS.

Chapter 5: Research Framework and Methodology

This chapter presents the Research Framework and Methodological Approaches to studying stakeholder-driven conservation and socio-economic development processes in World Heritage Sites. The research methodology was influenced by the principles of the proposed "Multiple & Multi-layered Stakeholder Theory (MMST)", which recognises the multiple and multi-layered stakeholders at World Heritage sites. A mixed qualitative and quantitative methodology approach was used to solicit the opinions and views of the multiple and multi-layered stakeholders on the relationship between conservation and socio-economic development at MCLWHS. The research strategies combined the interrogation of primary sources, specialist seminars, interviews and questionnaires. All these were woven together using the applied iterative principles of the Delphi technique. In addition, qualitative and quantitative data analysis tools were used to present the results.

Chapter 6: Perceptions, Power-interest matrix, Influence capability and Stakeholders at MCLWHS

This chapter presents the results of the fieldwork conducted to determine the views, perceptions and decision-making powers of a wide range of stakeholders of the MCLWHS in South Africa. Both, quantitative and qualitative analysis methods are used to bring together the overarching views and roles of the stakeholders of the site in an integrated thematic approach as defined by field survey instruments.

Chapter 7: Stakeholders, Conservation and Socio-economic Development at MCLWHS

This chapter discusses the emerging patterns in the relationship between conservation and socio-economic development as a stakeholder-driven process at the MCLWHS. The discussion is

premised on the analysis of field results presented in chapter 6. The chapter brings out emerging issues at MCLWHS with an emphasis on understanding stakeholder profiles and their level of awareness on World Heritage as a concept, role in conservation, views on socio-economic development, and futuristic perspectives on the relationship between conservation and socio-economic development at MCLWHS. It also identifies that there are more challenges than opportunities for stakeholders at MCLWHS.

Chapter 8: Conclusion: From local to global perspectives

This chapter concludes the study by highlighting the contribution of this research to the discussion on stakeholder-driven conservation and socio-economic development at World Heritage sites. It recommends the localization of sustainable development goals. This acknowledges that conservation and socio-economic development are first and foremost local phenomena which needs to be aligned to broader territorial planning designed to meet the needs of society. The thesis also recommends an adaptive management approach as a preferred governance model as opposed to the observed State-Based Systems. With this approach, learning from experience, gathering information from multiple sources and involving stakeholders are important. The thesis points to adaptive management as a responsive approach as opposed to the reactive approach of State-Based Systems, and argues further for the adoption of creativity and innovation as enshrined in multidisciplinary mindsets. Universities are identified as partners in developing practitioners that are solution-oriented at heritage sites. World Heritage governance should be rooted in the local-global nexus (bottom-up approach) in order to be more relevant to the socio-economic needs of society. The chapter acknowledges the limitations of the study as well as pointing out future areas for research. The thesis concludes that World Heritage should be a continuous process of managing continuity and change as dictated by conservation and the developmental needs of the broader society.

Chapter 2: Heritage Management and Socio-economic development in Africa

The chapter reviews World Heritage and socio-economic development within the geopolitical and socio-economic contexts of Africa (nationally and regionally). The review focuses on understanding the socio-economic needs of Africa as a developing continent in relation to the global developments, the evolving heritage management systems in Africa, and the opportunities and challenges of World Heritage in meeting its own needs and those of society. It also reviews local community participation leading to the adoption of the term 'stakeholders' in this study. Emphasis is placed on the legal, social, political and economic framework for the governance of World Heritage sites. Furthermore, the role of sustainable development in balancing conservation and socio-economic development at World Heritage sites is reviewed. This builds up to a discussion on whether there is tension or not between conservation and socio-economic development at World Heritage sites in Africa. The chapter agues that livelihood benefits of World Heritage accruing to stakeholders are low and not comparable in quantum to those of socio-economic development projects, which are perceived to be high. This study focussed on gathering empirical evidence to validate this tentative conclusion at World Heritage sites.

2.1 Socio-economic needs and Africa

Developing continents such as Africa are faced with cardinal challenges of poverty, food and water shortages, high levels of unemployment, energy deficits, infrastructure and inequality (Nkoana-Mashabane, 2013; Keitumetse, 2011; Askew, 2010). These challenges are happening yet Africa is home to some 30 per cent of the world's mineral reserves, 8 per cent of the world's natural gas, 12 per cent of the world's oil reserves; the continent has 40 per cent of the world's gold and up to 90 per cent of its chromium and platinum (Moukala, 2019:2). The largest reserves of cobalt, diamonds, platinum and uranium in the world are in Africa. Africa holds 65 per cent of the world's arable land, 10 per cent of internal renewable fresh water source (Moukala, 2019:2). According to the 2018 IMF development index, Africa ranks at the bottom (in sixth position) in GDP per capita, standing at only 1,890, compared to Oceania (54,220) in the first position, followed by North America (47,750), Europe (29,450), South America (8,510) and with Asia standing at 7,090 (IMF, 2018). In terms of the Human Development Index, African countries are lowly ranked on the List

and at least 1.5 billion people in 102 developing countries are living in multidimensional poverty (UNDP, 2017). Multidimensional poverty is measured against factors such as access to health, education and the standard of living (UNDP, 2017). Africa, just like any other continent, has witnessed exponential population growth from 83.46 million people in the 1820s to 1.17 billion people in 2016 (Our World in Data, 2017). On a comparative basis, the population of Africa comes second after that of Asia (4 billion people). Other regions that follow after Africa (see Figure 2.1) have the following population numbers: North and Central America (572.05 million), Europe (542.42 million), South America (414.92 million), and Oceania (31.94 million). The net effect of this population growth is that national governments are expected to meet the increasing socio-economic needs of their people. This expectation has been consistent from the pre-colonial to the present as society always has needs (Igboin, 2011).

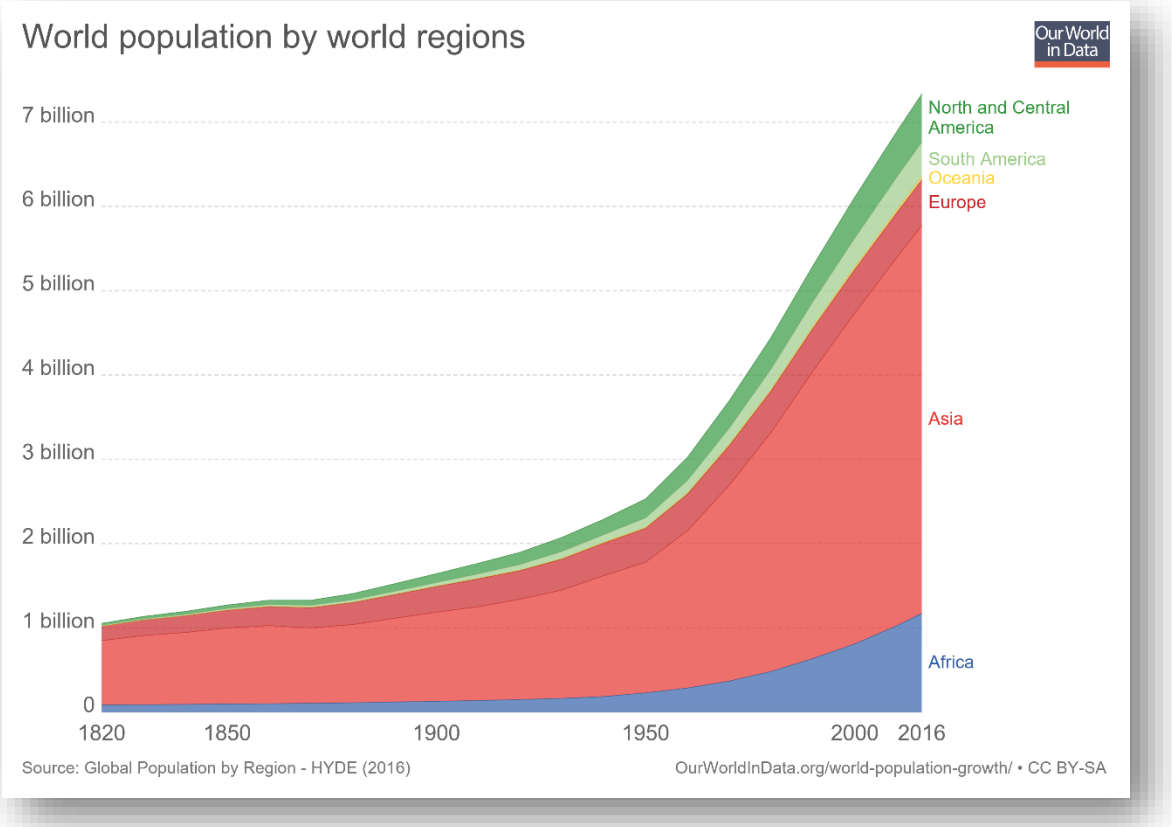

Figure 2.1: Population Growth by Regions (1820-2016) (Source; Our World in Data, 2016)

This ever-increasing population growth across the World has resulted in the intensification and diversification of societal needs. However, the physical space to do this has largely remained the

same. The diversity and varying interests of contemporary communities puts pressure on State Parties to meet these needs in the short and long term. One example is energy security, which has become an indispensable prerequisite for socio-economic development and growth in Africa (Dlamini, 2014:16). There is a conscious need to diversify the "energy mix" in order to mitigate and reduce the adverse environmental impacts of fossil fuels (Dlamini, 2014: 16). As such, South Africa needs to enhance its green content, especially given her historic reliance on the extraction of coal (Dlamini, 2014: 16). While development industries are fuelling economies in Africa and contributing to socio-economic livelihoods, their negative impacts should be effectively mitigated (Chirikure, 2010, 2013; MacEachern, 2010). In this context, extractive industries, including their funding institutions, have implemented initiatives to mitigate negative impacts of their operations in compliance with environmental laws (Brida *et al.*, 2011*)*. However, these mitigation measures are not always successful or fully implemented (Brida *et al.*, 2011). The contamination of underground water by acid seeping from abandoned and disused mines around Johannesburg in Gauteng (South Africa) is a good example. This contaminated underground water is also affecting the Cradle of Humankind, part of the serial Fossil Hominid World Heritage Site (South Africa). The full nature of the negative impact of development on heritage is yet to be quantified and assessed in many regions of the world (Osti *et al.*, 2011*)*.

In response to these increasing societal needs, the international community has developed mechanisms to balance development and conservation needs of the global community. The United Nations, for example, has developed the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs), Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) and the RIO 21 recommendations for implementation through State Parties (Sachs, 2012)). The MDGs (2000-2015) provided for eradicating extreme poverty, access to education, healthcare, political and environmental sustainability (Labadi, 2018). The SDGs now cover social, economic, and ecological development goals. All these goals are intertwined and inseparable parts of a solution to the increasing development challenges of the World (see Figure 2.2).

Figure 2.2; Sustainable development indicators (Source; 3BL Association, August 2018)

Related to the localization of SDGs on the African continent is the African Union (AU) Development Agenda (AU 2063) adopted in 2013. The AU 2063 Agenda, "The Future We Want for Africa", enshrines the SDGs tenets. The AU Agenda identifies seven (7) aspirations for operationalization by Africa (AU, 2013). The diagram below summarizes these seven aspirations which are meant to address the socio-economic challenges of Africa and attain self-sufficiency without over-reliance on developed nations (Figure 2.3). The first aspiration of the AU Agenda highlights the overall and desired state of the economy in Africa by the year 2063. This should be achievable by adopting a Pan- African approach and provision of resources by African State Parties. The AU Agenda emphasizes a people-centred approach in Africa (AU, 2013:3). This inculcates a locally driven development in order to avert the impact of unfavourable technical support and financial conditions in Africa (AU, 2013).

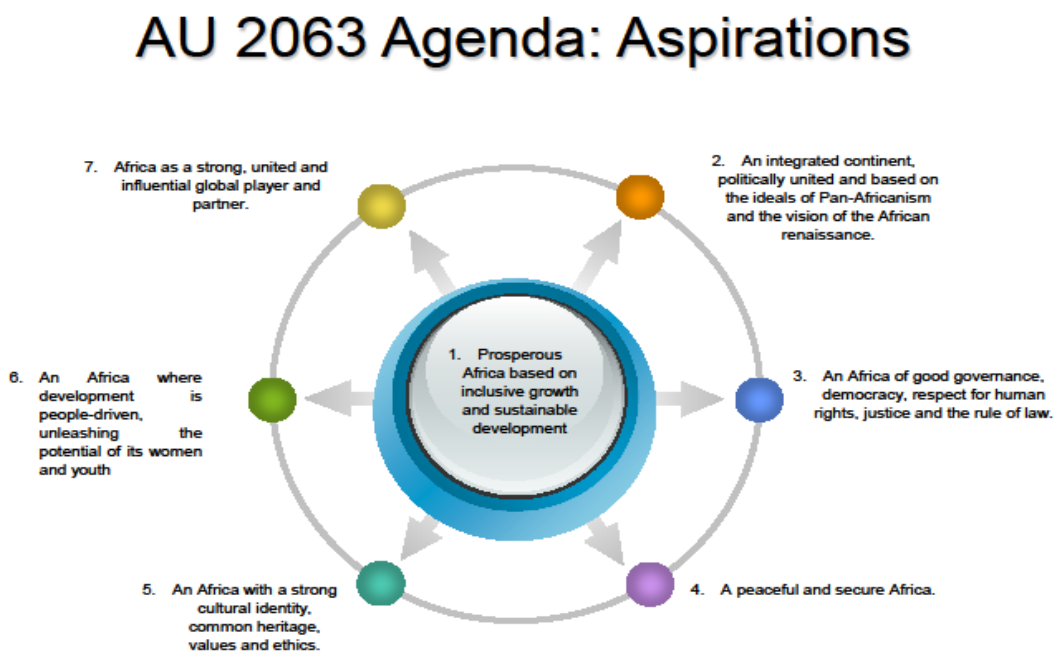

Figure 2.3: AU 2063 Development Aspirations (Source of data; African Union, 2013)

The Pan-African approach of AU is a building block towards recognizing local forces in shaping the destiny of the continent for the benefit of her people (AU, 2013). This demands changes in attitudes, values and mindsets of role-players involved. As a vision for socio-economic transformation, the Agenda builds on the the Lagos Plan of Action (Bujra, 2002), the Abuja Treaty, the Minimum Integration Programme (MIP), the Programme for Infrastructural Development in Africa (PIDA), the Comprehensive Africa Agricultural Development Programme (CAADP) and the New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD). The AU 2063 Agenda and SDGs are finding expression in sub-regional and National Development Plans of African countries. These country-specific National Development Plans are aimed at creating jobs and addressing income inequality, attaining energy, food and water security, as well as expanding trade opportunities and urbanization are being implemented (Nkoana-Mashabane, 2013:19).

One example of a National Development Plan is that of South Africa. The National Development Plan (2030) serves as an action plan for housing, water, electricity and sanitation projects, safe and reliable public transport, quality education and skills development, safety and security, quality health care, social protection, employment, recreation and leisure, clean environment, and adequate nutrition for South Africa (National Planning Commission, 2016). The Plan is expected to build an inclusive economy that benefits society in its broader diversity (National Planning Commission, 2016). However, this requires resources and support from social actors and partners across all sectors of society in South Africa. The National Development Plan represents aspirations of local communities and their quest to have better lives. Therefore, NDPs are supposed to be expressive of the local needs that have to be met for the benefit of society. As such, the SDGs and NDPs are meant to assist in achieving local, regional and international development targets (Sachs, 2012). On the one hand, the SDGs express what all nations together desire to do for the 'well-being' of current and future generations (Sachs, 2012:3). All these goals are now linked with the process of implementing the United Nations Agenda 2030, and are supposed to serve the present and future societies.

The debates on socio-economic development approaches are now characterized by deepening differences of opinion based on clashing perspectives and theories emanating from empirical studies in developed nations (Szirmai, 2005). These empirical studies are often contradictory or ambiguous (Szirmai, 2005), and even sometimes uncertain as to which model is best applicable (Szirmai, 2005). This scenario does not help in regions such as Africa where there is a dearth of empirical data, let alone a deeper understanding of views and opinions of stakeholders on the same matters. In the end, some scholars view development as a euphemism for Western penetration and domination of the world (Szirmai, 2005). Others view development as a normative concept involving making choices and values (Szirmai, 2005). But what has not been researched about is, who makes these choices and values. It is now widely accepted that development is strongly influenced by dominant cultures and international power relationships (Szirmai, 2005). However, development does not mean that all societies ought to develop in the same manner, or that they need to agree on some common standard in their approach (Szirmai, 2005). As such, development may take multiple forms and should not be only benchmarked on Western values (Labadi, 2018).

2.2 Heritage Management Systems and Practices in Africa

The evolving heritage management systems of Africa cannot be divorced from the advent of colonialism, foreign doctrinal texts and the post-colonial legal review philosophies largely based on mitigating the colonial influences (Ndoro & Wijesuriya, 2015). This section reviews the evolving heritage management systems and practices in Africa with the intention of understanding how traditional management systems (stemming from the pre-colonial period of Africa), the colonial systems (borrowed from the West), and the post-colonial systems have treated socio-economic development issues at heritage sites.

2.2.1 Traditional Management System (TMS) of Heritage

Traditional Management Systems (TMS) have been in place from pre-colonial times and continue to persist on the African continent (Eboreime, 2009, 2008; Jopela, 2010). TMS are "as old as humans on earth" (Abungu, 2016: 9) and are defined as the unwritten but "known behaviours and practices that have been experienced, tested and accepted" which "govern human practices and ensure responsible utilization of resources and harmonious co-existence" (Abungu, 2016:9). These cumulative customs, beliefs and practices of indigenous communities define their respective traditional management systems (Jopela, 2010). These systems benefit from customary rules or laws that are enforced by custodians (Jopela, 2010). As such, TMS represents the worldview or religious traditions of a society (Berkes *et al.*, 2000). TMS is thus a community-based philosophy of conservation, characterised by institutional legitimacy and community values (Mumma, 2003, 2005; Jopela, 2011). This philosophy emanates from the cumulative and centuries old traditions practiced by local communities and these are passed from generation to generation (Berkes *et al.*, 2000; Jopela, 2010).

The essence of TMS is to protect and control the use of sites, places and spaces considered sacred by local communities through a set of taboos (Mahachi & Kamuhangire, 2008; Murimbika, 2006). In this context, TMS are viewed as the unwritten legal instruments for the protection of heritage in Africa (Mahachi & Kamuhangire, 2008; Mumma, 2002). These were implemented by Pre-

colonial ethnic institutions of Africa (Igboin, 2011). Such pre-colonial ethnic institutions include among many others such as the Mapungubwe Kingdom (Southern Africa), Kingdoms of Buganda and Ankole (East Africa), Songhai Empire (West Africa), and Luba kingdom (Central Africa). Many indigenous communities across Africa still have TMS to ensure protection and survival of places that are culturally and ecologically significant to them (Ndoro *et al*. 2008; Sheridan & Nyamweru, 2008; Jopela, 2016a). Such sites include the Mijikenda Kayas sacred forest (Kenya), Royal Palaces of Abomey (Benin), Buganda Tombs (Uganda), Sukur Cultural landscapes and Osun Oshogbo Sacred Groves (Nigeria), Matobo Hills (Zimbabwe), and the thousands of Rock Art sites in Africa.

Another classical example is the Kasubi Tombs (Uganda), nominated to the World Heritage List because of its strong elements as intangible heritage relating to the Buganda Kingdom. The site has enjoyed TMS until the present day. The TMS has ensured the effective and constant maintenance of the site through time (Mwanja, 2013). Nalinya (the spiritual guardian), is the supervisor of different groups at the site. The farming activities, covering the major surface of the site, are traditionally coordinated by the Lumbago, person responsible for such activities (Mwanja, 2013). The farmland is used by more than 200 people. Regarding the administration of the site, the Katikkiro assists the Nalinya, the Spiritual guardian. The widows of the Buganda Kingdom care for the tombs, maintain the floor of the Great Hut and some of the Kabakas objects (Mwanja, 2013). They also care for weave mats and ensure that visitors do not abrogate the norms of the site (Mwanja, 2013). Kasubi Tomb is testimonial to how local communities have the ability to manage their own heritage, control related socio-economic uses, including partnering with other stakeholders such as the tourism industry and government to attract tourists. This includes their role in the restoration of the site after a fire in 2010.

Apart from enforcing TMS, the Pre-colonial ethnic institutions of Africa also shaped regional development through promoting local industries supporting the livelihoods of their respective communities (Michalopoulos & Papaioannou, 2012). Empirical evidence from these pre-colonial institutions shows strong association between the "political centralization and regional development" in Africa (Michalopoulos & Papaioannou, 2012:1). Indigenous communities of Africa have always exploited both renewable and non-renewable resources in order to meet their

daily needs. This gave birth to the intra- and inter-kingdom trade and at a later stage, this was extended into the long-distance trade with the Far East, Arab region via the African coastline gateway (Chirikure, 2010; Ndoro, 2005). With the San communities, hunting and extracting resources such as tubers, trees, medicinal plants among many others was part of their daily lives. They had the consciousness of ecosystems as they responded to seasonality thereby allowing regeneration of resources (Loubser & Laurens, 1994; Lewis-Williams, 1994). Sites such as Great Zimbabwe were revered as religious and economic centres associated with exploitation of resources in the area during the height of their existence. At a later stage, this included supporting long-distance trade with the Far East as the site came into contact with the Arabs and Portuguese among many other traders (Pikirayi *et al.,* 2016; Ndoro, 2001). The existence of grain bins and domestic animal bones at the site points to agriculture and animal husbandry (Ndoro, 2001), while massive engineering structures of the site represent a stone quarrying industry that thrived for many centuries without possibly causing undesirable environmental scars on the landscape. The water holes around the site and the greater landscape of Great Zimbabwe denotes traditional water abstraction as informed by traditional water management systems practised by communities of the site (Pikirayi *et al.,* 2016).

Also, the huge quantum of pottery recovered at Great Zimbabwe and many other archaeological sites is testimonial to the pottery industry that thrived in the past and has remained the backbone of the curio industry at the site in the present time (Ndoro, 2001). The massive gold objects and related metal instruments recovered at Great Zimbabwe demonstrate ancient mining and processing of minerals into secondary products (Swan, 1994). There is evidence of gold being mined before the colonial era at some archaeological sites (Swan, 2007: 12; Desai & Lee-Thorp, 2000). At the Historic Site of Angkor, local communities have been undertaking cultivation, collecting wood, harvesting forest products, raising fish and grazing livestock for a long time (Brumann & Berliner, 2016). The same applies at Okavango Delta in Botswana. However, these local practices have been restricted by both World Heritage and State-Based Management Systems that alienate communities from their heritage. This is creating tensions at heritage sites (Brumann & Berliner, 2016).

Other studies on pre-colonial states demonstrate that regional development is synonymous with complex and socially structured societies (Igboin, 2011:23). This pattern points to multiple uses of resources found in localities with heritage for both internal and external consumption. It is universally accepted that colonialism attempted to limit the role of such ethnic institutions (Michalopoulos & Papaioannou, 2012). Again, in the post-colonial period, institutions of political democracy have largely sustained their alienation, which is not helping in the decision-making processes for governments on heritage matters (Pwiti & Ndoro, 2001). Contemporary governments are failing to provide provide for the increasing socio-economic needs of concerned communities. In response, these communities are increasingly getting aligned to their local ethnic specificity to create a formidable voice that can challenge national governments on matters that concern them (Michalopoulos & Papaioannou, 2012; Englebert, 2009).

From an empirical perspective, Tsodilo Hills World Heritage Site (Botswana) offers an interesting illustration of how the San Communities, through a set of rituals and taboos, managed the hills for many decades. The Ju|'hoansi are the traditional hunters and gatherers, indigenous to the territory (Molatedi, L., *et al.,* 2017). To these communities, Tsodilo Hills is a place of worship and the ancestral spirits have their abode in the hills (Taylor, 2006). Access to the site was controlled through these protocols and this gave them a sense of dignity and respect (Taylor, 2006). The inscription of Tsodilo Hills using criteria (vi) is testament to the symbolic and religious significance of the hills to the San communities who continue to survive in this present day. Another interesting site is Chinhamapera in the Manica Province of Mozambique (Jopela, 2010). Communities in this area believe that ancestral spirits dwell in the earth and water, and as such, abode in water springs, streams, forests, mountains and rock shelters (Jopela, 2010; Arturo, 2003; Saetersdal, 2004). Chinhamapera is argued to be a place of great spiritual power and for the Manica Shona- speakers it is a place of "Kings" or a place of the "spirits", as well as a healing place (Jopela, 2010: 166). Interestingly, the current Shona inhabitants of the area seem not to have any correlation of the traditions of the Later Stone Age hunter-gatherers at the site (Saetersdal, 2004; Nhamo *et al*., 2007). Ceremonies are conducted at the site as an on-going process to this present day (Jopela, 2010). Access to the site is regulated through customary laws and belief system which includes age, sex and gender restrictions (Jopela, 2010; Ndoro, 2003). The combinative effect of enforcing taboos, ceremonies and myths ensures the survival of heritage places, (Jopela, 2010;

Ndoro, 2006). Traditional custodianship at Chinhamapera Hill is thus guided by custom and belief systems of the local communities (Jopela, 2006).

Overall, TMS resemble contemporary scientific practices for ecosystem-based management (Berkes *et al.,* 2006). In addition, TMS have elements of succession management, landscape patchiness management, resource use and rotational approach (Berkes *et al.,* 2006). These elements empowered indigenous communities in situations where joint decision-making were presented to them at heritage sites (Berkes & Davidson-Hunt, *et al.,* 2016). It is evident that TMS are "social mechanisms and social institutions that regulate the use of resources at the local level through time and space (Jopela, 2016). This means TMS are adaptable to changing socio-economic dynamics. It is clear that during the pre-colonial period, local communities had the wisdom to preserve their cultural values and at the same time exploit other resources within their locality for their own consumption and supported long-distance trade. This wisdom is "sustained by a wider frame of religious beliefs that define the codes, roles, obligations and behavioural patterns of the community towards the space and the resources" (Jopela, 2016: 9). If this wisdom can be tapped into, it has the potential to build more inclusive and robust constituencies for conservation, while accessing and using all resources to meet the needs of society (Berkes & Davidson-Hunt *et al.,* 2006). TMS persisted until the arrival of colonialists who brought new heritage management perspectives in Africa. In this process, it is important to understand how TMS have been treated by these new management perspectives, now commonly referred to State-Based Management Systems (Jopela, 2016). These are formal heritage management systems-driven by the State which have shaped the heritage landscape of Africa.

2.2.2 Colonial approaches and State-Based Management Systems

The demise of pre-colonial politics resulted in a new foundation for heritage practice in Africa (Ndoro & Wijesuriya, 2015). It is now universal knowledge that colonization imposed Western concepts in the management of heritage in Africa (Ndoro, 2001; Jopela, 2016). The colonial approach "valued Western science and approaches at the expense of local values" which were, in most cases, regarded as "superstitious and irrelevant to conservation and research" (Chirikure & Pwiti, 2008: 470). There was no meaningful role set aside for the colonized communities (Hulme

& Shepherd, 2003), nor was there any effort to contextualize local or indigenous heritage management discourse within this emerging global process (Nelson, 2003). It is clear that the nineteenth century witnessed the extension of the Eurocentric approach in managing heritage in Africa (Ndoro & Wijesuriya, 2015). As such, colonialism saw formal heritage legislation being enacted to protect, conserve and manage heritage in Africa (Ndoro & Chirikure, 2009). This gave birth to State-Based Management Systems (SBMS), which persists today.

The SBMS place emphasis on the identification, documentation, presentation and management of heritage by experts without involving local communities in the process, except in a few cases where TMS are well established and unavoidable (Ndoro & Wijesuriya, 2015). SBMS place importance on notions of management plans developed using defined scientific approaches (Pwiti & Ndoro, 1999; Ndoro & Pwiti, 2001). Among, but not limited to, these approaches are value or significance-based, desired state, adaptive and integrated planning frameworks. Management plans outline protection measures to retain values considered to be of significance by experts, with minimal involvement of stakeholders (Fredheim & Khalaf, 2016). The SBMS notion of heritage in Africa has always been reliant on science and values defined by scientists/experts. Scientists and experts still have notions of untouched, pristine conditions and unaltered landscapes that are beyond the reach of stakeholders, including local communities (Smith, 2006; Meskell, 2011; Munjeri, 2004). SBMS processes were heavily linked to the concept of "environmental colonialism" (Nelson, 2003:65). This approach concluded that "natives did not understand their own heritage" and therefore, if heritage management was left to them it "would be either contaminated or destroyed" (Nelson, 2003:71). This resulted in the disconnection between local communities and their ancestral places, including access to any other resources in such localities in Africa, which they had enjoyed in the pre-colonial period (Nelson, 2003:65).

The birth of 'experts' during colonial times was supported by foreign imposed academic curricula offered by Universities among them but not limited to Cambridge (UK), Oxford (UK) and Uppsala (Sweden). These academic curricula are still followed in many African academic institutions teaching archaeology, heritage management and conservation. As such, most Africa heritage experts are still not 'decolonized' in their approaches and mindsets as they fight for universal acceptability assessed against their alignment to foreign concepts and ways of assessing such

curricula. However, some African academic institutions are moving towards decolonizing their curricula and being relevant to the needs of heritage sites for instance the University of Western Cape (South Africa) offering critical history studies aimed at rewriting the story of South Africa. African heritage curricula and frameworks have to move beyond the radar of traditional courses in order to adopt a solution-based orientation as a way of unlocking relevancy to needs of stakeholders at local levels as illustrated by the AFRICA2009 Programme jointly administered by ICCROM and CHDA in Mombasa for many years.

Other products of SBMS included the establishment of protected areas or national parks and the declaration of heritage sites as monuments in colonial Africa, while communities still considered these places and sites as their shrines (Nelson, 2003; Ndoro & Wijesuriya, 2015). The parks and monuments became enclaves of colonial administrators and scientists in an effort to "saving Africa from Africans", yet TMS had been in existence before colonialism (Nelson, 2003:65; Jopela, 2016). The creation of national parks was also preceded by the removal of local communities, who were forceably relocated to marginal and unproductive lands (Keitumetse, 2007, 2009; Kigongo & Reid, 2007). The history of parks such as the Selous Game Reserve and Serengeti (Tanzania), Hwange National Park and Matobo Hills (Zimbabwe), the Okavango Delta (Botswana), Kruger and Mapungubwe National Parks (South Africa), and many others in Africa demonstrate this unfortunate dislocation of communities from their original places of inhabitation. This entrenched the idea that people and heritage must be separated. In addition, Park officials have always seen their relationship with communities or 'neighbours' as being predominantly one of policing and maintaining fences to stop them from coming back into the now designated conservation areas (Cock & Fig, 2000:28). This colonial and authoritarian conservation perspective has persisted with minimal changes on the African continent (Nelson, 2003). This study seeks to understand how relocated communities have interacted with World Heritage sites inside protected areas such as MCLWHS, especially in the context of balancing conservation and socio-economic development for their own benefit.

The benefits of creating national parks and gazetting monuments have not been extended to indigenous communities as traditional custodians of heritage in Africa (Nelson, 2003). The values identified by the society or part of the society were not catered for in the management planning

process for protection (Sharon, 2004). This pattern continues in the contemporary due to African governments having insufficient capacity and resources to change such legal setups (Nelson, 2003). These inefficiencies have reinforced neo-colonial practices of conservation in Africa, while sustaining the marginalization of local communities continues (Nelson, 2003). For example, the colonial notion of pristine wilderness and human exclusion was sectional and exacerbated by national divisions along racial lines in South Africa, thereby reflecting the culture and practices of apartheid (Nelson, 2003). The separatist politics of South Africa meant heritage would be practised under apartheid influence until 1994 (Meskell, 2011). Indigenous communities in South Africa were thus excluded from power, authority and influence in the management and use of their own heritage (Meskell, 2011), including using any other resources around the heritage sites. These SBMS relegated traditional management systems to the periphery of heritage management approach in Africa (Nelson, 2003; Ndoro & Wijesuriya, 2015). Even studies conducted elsewhere, such as in Australia and the United States of America, show that heritage management approaches adopted by settler societies ignored indigenous populations in the governance process (Smith, 2004).

When contextualized through time, the pre-colonial and the post-colonial period give birth the to the post-colonial heritage management approaches. The colonial heritage systems included the introduction of legislation, museums, monuments commission, concepts of monumentalism, emergence of experts and the exclusion of communities from the management processes. This system emphasized "the idea of materiality and the authenticity of fabric" and these are western concepts imposed on local heritage (Chirikure *et al*., 2016: 165). Parallel to this was the orchestrated looting and plundering of local heritage (Chirikure *et al*., 2016). In the bigger picture, monumentalism considered pre-colonial heritage management systems irrelevant yet in them are experiences that could be used to build post-colonial heritage management strategies (Chirikure *et al.*, 2016). This evolving heritage management system (Figure 2.4), cannot be discussed fully without considering how the 1972 World Heritage Convention and related Protocols ratified by States Parties in the protection of heritage are somehow extending colonial systems in Africa.

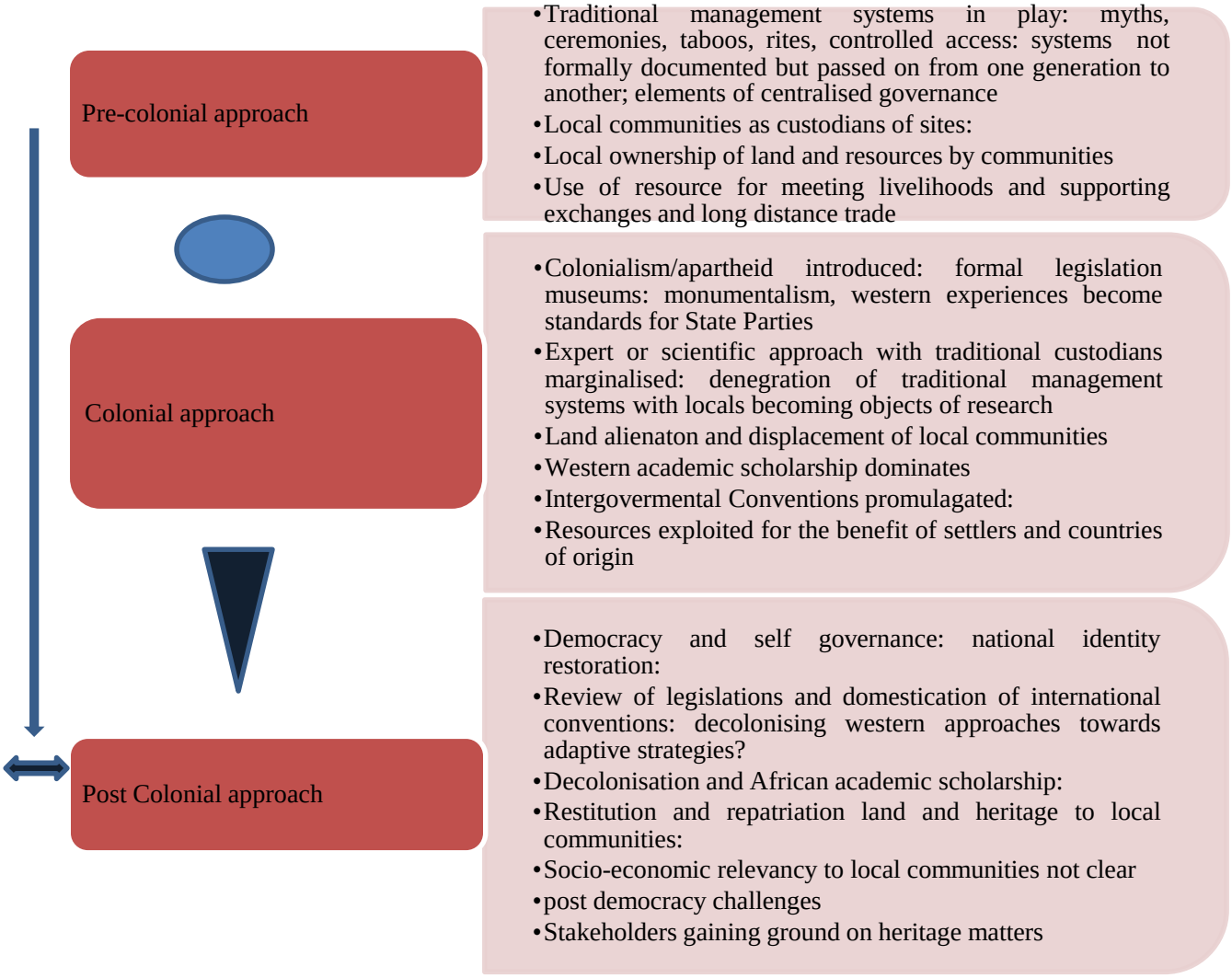

Figure 2.4: Evolving Heritage Management Systems in Africa

One such particular instrument is the 1972 World Heritage Convention Concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage, also commonly known as the 1972 World Heritage Convention. This is the 1972 World Heritage Convention at the centre of this study in as far as it connects conservation and socio-economic development at World Heritage sites.

2.2.3 1972 World Heritage Convention and Africa

The 1972 World Heritage Convention, was adopted by the United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) in 1972 and protects heritage considered to have "Outstanding Universal Value" (UNESCO, 1972). It is one of the most acceded and popularized international convention world-wide, including in Africa (Taruvinga *et al.*, 2013). The birth of the 1972 World Heritage Convention is premised on the realisation that cultural and natural heritage is under increasing threats from destruction by traditional causes of decay, changing social and economic conditions which is happening at State Party levels (Labadi, 2018). It also acknowledged that protection of this heritage at the national level remains incomplete due to insufficient economic, scientific and technological resources, as well as the scale of the resources which it requires (UNESCO, 1972). It is in this context that UNESCO decided that heritage with Outstanding Universal Value should be preserved as part of the world heritage of mankind (UNESCO, 1972). The 1972 World Heritage Convention recognizes that heritage is irreplaceable and State Parties must ensure its protection. Therefore, the 1972 World Heritage Convention is "a vast international bureaucracy that decides what is world heritage" (Donnacie, 2010: 115) and exercises huge influence over its management (Labadi, 2018).

As presented earlier, (see chapter 1), World Heritage is premised on the concept of Outstanding Universal Value (OUV), implying that any site inscribed on the World Heritage List has exceptional cultural and/or natural values important to the present and future generations of all humanity (Operational Guidelines on the Implementation of the 1972 World Heritage Convention, 2017). In addition, the site should also meet the test of authenticity and/or integrity, as well as have a management and protection system in order to maintain the OUV. Simplified, authenticity refers to how credibly and truthfully the attributes conveying the significance of the site are represented or expressed at the site, while integrity refers to the completeness/wholeness, the adequacy of the size to protect all the elements and the identification of threats the site may be facing (Alberts & Hazen, 2010; Stovel, 2007). Management and protection systems refer to the legal protection in place and associated conservation strategies or the traditional management systems protecting the site in order to maintain the OUV (Stovel, 2007). Properties can be inscribed as single sites (for culture or nature), mixed sites (both culture and nature), or cultural landscapes. Cultural landscapes

are either organically evolved or associative landscapes (Selman, 2004; Jones & Cloke, 2002). Organically evolved landscapes are derived from economic land uses which are still active, while associative landscapes are linked to historic events (Selman, 2004). As such, cultural landscapes exhibit an "interplay between human and non-human realms" and "social construction and geographic spaces (Selman, 2004: 366; Matless, 1998; Brace, 2003).

The diagram below (Figure 2.5) presents the World Heritage framework from inscription to the post-inscription processes, thereby outlining obligations of all Parties, in particular how the World Heritage Committee and State Parties are involved. The 1972 World Heritage Convention bestows the responsibility of identifying and conserving World Heritage sites on the respective States Parties, illustrating the localness of heritage. As such, the State Party has to implement a wide range of management actions, including providing policy and an institutional framework for the governance of the site at national level but in line with global precepts of the 1972 World Heritage Convention.

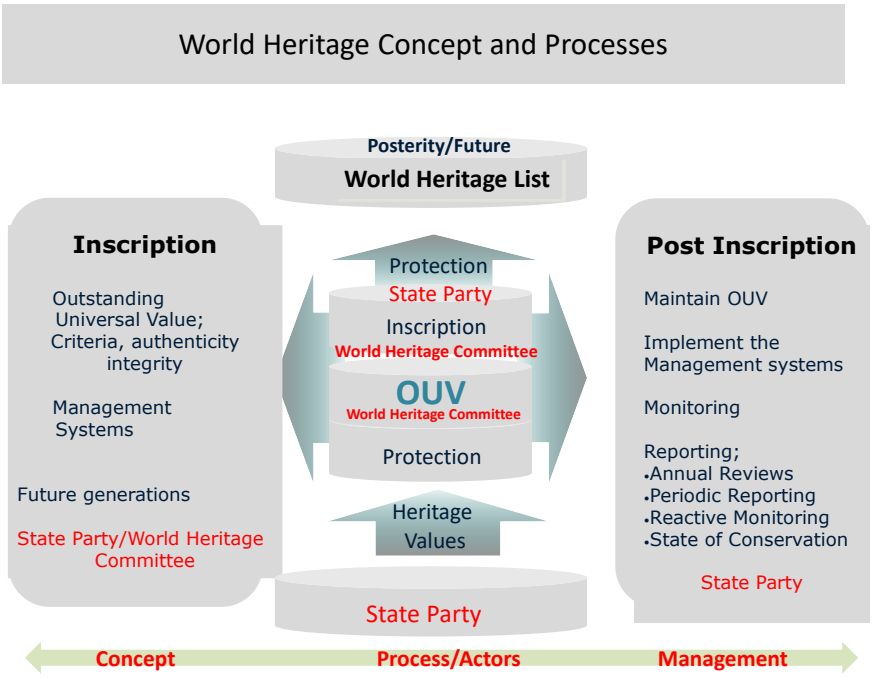

Figure 2.5: World Heritage Concept and Processes (Source of information: Operational Guidelines on the Implementation of the 1972 World Heritage Convention)

The global reach of the 1972 World Heritage Convention is supported by an array of State Parties, Intergovernmental Parties, and Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs), who delimit and run its complex protocols and governance procedures (Rössler, 2007; Blacik, 2007). The decision-making responsibility of the 1972 World Heritage Convention rests with the World Heritage Committee constituted by State Parties and supported by the Non-Governmental organizations officially known as Advisory Bodies (Rössler, 2007).

The three Advisory Bodies are: the International Union on Conservation of Nature (IUCN)[2], International Council on Monuments and Sites (ICOMOS)[3] and the International Centre for the Study of the Preservation and Restoration of Cultural Property (ICCROM)[4]. The Advisory Bodies are scientifically and politically independent of governments, but sometimes these are funded by State Parties and the Intergovernmental structures of the 1972 World Heritage Convention (Donnacie, 2010). The World Heritage Committee, on the advice of Advisory Bodies, is responsible for inscribing or not inscribing new sites, placing sites on the List of World Heritage in Danger, disbursing resources and examining state of conservation reports, including monitoring the implementation of the 1972 World Heritage Convention at large (Rössler, 2007). However, the

[2] **IUCN**: was created in 1948 and is the official advisor to the World Heritage Committee on natural heritage. It works closely with IUCN Commissions on protected areas and this involves over 10 000 experts (science, law and policy) and many partners interested in conservation and rights based approaches. As an advisory body, IUCN evaluates new nominations, monitors state of conservation, promotes the Convention as an instrument of valuing and conserving nature, sustainable use and supports capacity building programmes on nature conservation. One of the milestones of IUCN was the policy on barring extractive industries at World Heritage properties and initiating the nature culture dialogue bring different stakeholders to the fore of World Heritage management. It also has advice notes on impact assessments at World Heritage sites.

[3] **ICOMOS**: was founded in 1965 and is the official advisor to the World Heritage Committee on the conservation of cultural heritage across the world. ICOMOS has largely been-driven by the doctrinal texts of the 1931 Athens Charter, the 1964 Venice Charter and the Burra Charter. ICOMOS has an International Committee supported by 28 international scientific committees and 110 National Committees with over 10,100 individual members and 320 institutional members in 144 countries across the world. ICOMOS plays the same role as IUCN in the context of World Heritage but with an emphasis on application of theory, methodology, and scientific techniques in the conservation of tangible and intangible, immoveable and moveable heritage. Recently, ICOMOS introduced Outstanding Universal Value Based Impact Assessment Framework to ensure World Heritage is protected in the face increasing pressure from developments. It is important to note that ICOMOS national committees are more effective in developed nations compared to Africa where such committees are bedeviled with lack of support and interest as its often viewed as an extension of Eurocentric approach in Africa.

[4] **ICCROM**: was established in 1956 in the post math of the 2nd World War which damaged heritage and is the official advisor to the World Heritage Committee on the conservation of all forms of heritage and this is done through capacity building, information dissemination, cooperation, research and advocacy with the support of Member States. Notable about ICCROM is regional programmes for Africa such as PREMA, AFRICA 2009 and many others, including producing guidelines on conservation, tourism, disaster risk planning and general management of heritage. This is done in collaboration with IUCN and ICCROM.

governance system of the World Heritage Committee has suffered from politicisation by State Parties over the years, which has witnessed political decisions superceding scientific rational in the decision making process (Meskell, 2016).

The positive benefits of 1972 World Heritage Convention include being part of a global community dedicated to conservation, access to funding, international cooperation for conservation, research and capacity building for the State Parties (Donnacie, 2010; Rössler, 2007; Edroma, 2004) and tourism (Cassel & Pashkevich, 2013). The 1972 World Heritage Convention is also credited for increasing awareness on heritage issues and promotion of tourism at World Heritage sites (Labadi, 2018; Donnacie, 2010; Di Giovine, 2008). As of 2018, the World Heritage list had 1092 sites from 165 countries (Africa; 35; Arab States; 16; Asia and the Pacific; 36; Europe and North America; 50; the Latin America and the Caribbean; 28).

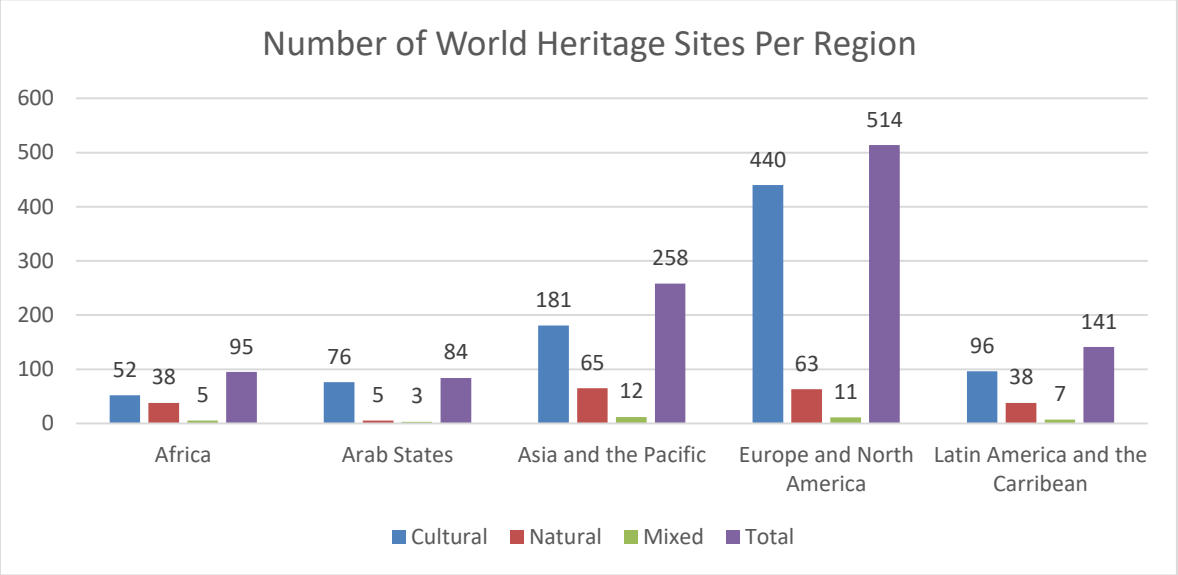

Figure 2.6: World Heritage List as of 2018 (Source; http:/whc.unesco.org/end/list/stat; UNESCO, 2018)

From the above statistical analysis, one can further deduce that Africa represents 8.70% of all inscribed sites[5], with the Arab States contributing 7.69%, Europe and North America (47.07%), Asia & Pacific (23.63%) and Latin America and the Caribbean contributing 12.91%. While the 1972 1972 World Heritage Convention has been successful in inscribing sites on the World Heritage List, another negative pattern is emerging, resulting from the threats being identified through the 'state of conservation' reports of these sites (see Figure 2.7). The threats emanate from both natural and human-induced factors. These threats are also identifiable from the evaluation done by Advisory Bodies and during the subsequent submission of state of conservation reports.

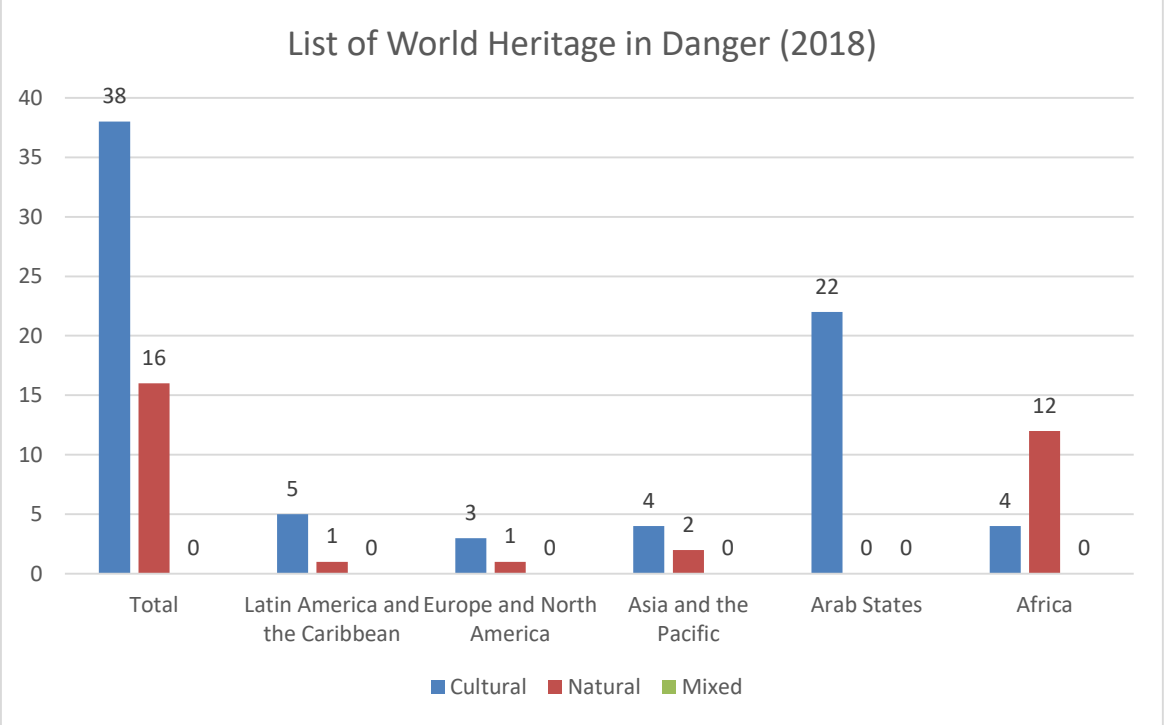

Figure 2.7: Sites on the List of World Heritage in Danger as of 2018 (Source; http;/whc.unesco.org/end/list/stat; UNESCO, 2018)

[5] Africa is defined as region for execution of UNESCO operations and not necessary on the basis of a geographical definition. As a region of execution Africa, refers to Sub Saharan Africa in terms of UNESCO regions, while from the Africa Union (AU) definition, African includes the Arab Region of UNESCO regions. If the AU geographical definition of Africa is considered this means, Africa is represented by 16.39% on the World Heritage, making the Latin America and the Caribbean the least represented with 12.91%. However, this study uses the UNESCO execution definition of regions. The same applies to all subsequent World Heritage statistics used in this study.

From the above chart, Africa accounts for 30% of sites on the List of World Heritage in Danger. This demonstrates that Africa has not successfully managed most of her World Heritage sites. This also points to increasing threats at such sites. This pattern has become an issue of concern for the World Heritage Committee as these developments threaten to reverse the objectives, rationale and the gains of inscription since 1972. The threats are multiple and can be broadly categorized as natural (disasters, climate change, earthquakes etc.), human-induced (conflict, extractive processes, agriculture, pollution, dam-construction, water diversion and abstraction, infrastructure development, poaching, logging and resource exploitation, human settlement, lack of political will and leadership, neglect and abandonment, etc.) and biological (ecological). The 1972 World Heritage Convention, from its conception, was premised on addressing these threats, yet this has taken a very long time to find a sustainable formula towards addressing them (Labadi, 2018; Cassel & Pashkevich, 2013). To experts and the World Heritage Committee, it seems World Heritage is failing to live up to its original objective yet for the stakeholders, it is failing to live for their needs in the contemporary.

Being on the List of World Heritage in Danger is now interpreted as being on the 'infamous list', and this dampens the political prestige that initially comes with successfully listing of a site. It is like being in an intensive care unit, where the World Heritage Committee, through formal decisions, persuades the State Party to undertake corrective action in order to retain the OUV of the site. The State Party has the difficult responsibility of implementing the prescribed suit of mitigation measures favouring conservation and maintaining the OUV of the World Heritage site. This is irrespective of the worthiness and justification of other stakeholder processes in meeting the needs of the society. In some cases, some sites have been delisted at the instigation of State Parties in favour of development, such as was the case with Oman in 2007. The World Heritage Committee did not agree with the decision of the State Party to reduce the size of the protected area by 90% in favour of its hydrocarbon prospection project. As such, the State Party of Oman had the Arabian Oryx Sanctuary deleted from the World Heritage List by the World Heritage Committee to pave the way for the hydrocarbon prospection project. Oman was the first State Party to be subjected to such a harsh World Heritage Committee decision. Though these developments were desirable on the side of the concerned State Party and stakeholders, they were going to

destroy the value and integrity of the World Heritage site. The World Heritage Committee view such States Parties as failing in their legal obligation to protect these sites. Such threatened sites always find themselves either on the List of World Heritage in Danger or under Reactive Monitoring by the World Heritage Committee supported by the Advisory Bodies. The case study, MCLWHS, was subjected to the latter due to the threat of extractive industries in the area, and it would be interesting to obtain the views and opinions of different role players on this decision-making process, and understand whether it is beneficial to them or not.

While Africa is increasing the number of inscriptions, it is also clear that this heritage has not been sufficiently harnessed to promote socio-economic development (Ndoro & Wijesuriya, 2015; Blacik, 2007). Local communities living at World Heritage sites in Africa are not benefiting in a meaningful and measurable way. This can be traced back to the establishment of protected areas and gazetting of monuments, which alienated and marginalized local communities (Ndoro & Wijesuriya, 2014; Ndoro & Chirikure, 2009; Chirikure & Pwiti, 2008). This has continued with World Heritage sites being carved out of territories once owned by communities, and these are now legally managed by State Parties. This demonstrates that the 1972 World Heritage Convention tends to override the local cultural context with "a language and method of management" focused on the idea of OUV, all this underlined by the notion of conservation (Harrison, 2010a: 191, 2010b). It further 'operationalizes' Western notions of heritage in non-Western contexts (Harrison, 2010:170). This creates tension between international and local perspectives on the interpretation and use of heritage as a resource (Harrison, 2010: 170, 201b; Byrne, 1991, 2008; Nelson, 2002). How these issues play out in the context of MCLWHS will be tested in this study.

However, the 1972 World Heritage Convention is also not necessarily incompatible with controlled resource development approaches (Nicholson, 2002; Blacik, 2007). It is just that the more powerful in the global politics find it easier to have their ideas about heritage management accepted at international levels than the weak and impoverished communities of developing nations, who are often represented by SBMS (Harrison, 2010). This reflects an increasing politically complex field in heritage management on the African continent (Donnacie, 2010; 121; Meskell, 2014; Labadi, 2018). From its inception, the 1972 World Heritage Convention has been integrally linked to the international community and politics (Meskell, 2014; Labadi, 2018). This

does not leave room for considering the local dimensions of heritage, in particular its relevancy to socio-economic development at local levels (Ndoro & Wijesuriya, 2015). This makes developing nations vulnerable to global processes and political dimensions of World Heritage due to their insufficient resources and the constraints imposed by the onerous World Heritage processes (Meskell, 2014).

Another weakness of the 1972 World Heritage Convention is that it does not have formal provisions for involving other stakeholders, including local communities in its decision-making structures. Those who are excluded, or exclude themselves from it, have not been involved in the decision-making process at World Heritage level (Donnacie, 2010: 117; Meskell, 2014). Currently, stakeholders are only accommodated as observers or are represented as an extension of State Parties, but with 'muffled' voices. However, recently, IUCN has supported the establishment of the Indigenous Community Forum. Though not yet recognized officially in the governance of World Heritage Committee, it is gradually becoming an official avenue for Indigenous communities to be heard by the International community.

Another challenge with the 1972 World Heritage Convention is the long time it has taken to embrace sustainable development. While the Operational Guidelines on the Implementation of the 1972 World Heritage Convention recognize sustainable development, the 1972 World Heritage Convention itself still does not mention the term in its doctrinal text (Labadi, 2018). This means that socio-economic aspirations of stakeholders are not adequately catered for by the 1972 World Heritage Convention (Labadi, 2018), yet these have been visible even before its enactment in 1972 (Igboin, 2011). SD was only acknowledged in World Heritage processes in 2002, followed by its inclusion in the major revision of the Operational Guidelines on Implementation of the 1972 World Heritage Convention in 2005 (Labadi, 2018). A deliberate effort to make the 1972 World Heritage Convention a sustainable development tool was only made in 2012 (Labadi, 2018; UNESCO, 2012c). This has further been reinforced by the World Heritage Policy on Sustainable Development developed in 2015, which also requires empirical testing at World Heritage sites. What is emphasized in doctrinal policies is biased towards guarding against direct and indirect negative threats of any development (Labadi, 2018). Therefore, it would be interesting to explore

how policies and regulations at a site such as MCLWHS are helping in mitigating these direct and indirect threats of development.

Apart from this internal gap between the 1972 World Heritage Convention and its Operational Guidelines, there is also an integration gap between national heritage laws and the 1972 World Heritage Convention. Most national heritage laws do not have clauses integrating 1972 World Heritage Convention in their framework for the benefit of local practices. On the hand, the 1972 World Heritage Convention recognizes national laws under the prescribed inscription conditions to prove the existence of a management system for the proposed World Heritage site. However, what is interesting is that these national laws are always considered not sufficient, hence they need to be reinforced by Operational Guidelines and Policies developed by the World Heritage Committee such as the OUV-Based Heritage Impact Assessment of ICOMOS. This does not mean State Parties do not have faith in their domestic laws but these alone are viewed as not able to guarantee the future of World Heritage sites. Furthermore, not many African countries have domesticated the 1972 World Heritage Convention as way of bridging this integration gap. One successful example is that of South Africa, which enacted the South African World Heritage Convention Act (SAWHCA) of 1999. This domestication is building stronger linkages between global and local processes. It also demonstrates how international obligations enshrined in 1972 World Heritage Convention can be brought closer to the local context of heritage. Whether the domestication of the 1972 World Heritage Convention brings success in balancing issues of conservation and development will be put to test in this study at MCLWHS.

The 1972 World Heritage Convention has also been criticized for its strong conservation agenda over the last four decades, a pattern that persists to this present day (Ndoro *et al*, 2018; Ndoro & Wijesuriya, 2015; Nelson, 2003). This agenda cannot be divorced from the broader framework of the evolving SBMS in Africa, with their associated colonial overhangs (Jopela, 2016; Ndoro *et al*, 2018). Also, the 1972 World Heritage Convention has tended to ignore elements that are not considered to be of OUV, yet to the local communities, all values are encompassed in what is of importance to them as a whole at the site. For instance, the 1972 World Heritage Convention was slow in recognizing intangible values of heritage, preferring a monumentality approach. It was only through the collective effort of Asia and Africa that the NARA Document on Authenticity

forced the 1972 World Heritage Convention to recognize the inseparable connection between intangible and tangible values (Ndoro & Wijesuriya, 2015; Ndoro *et al*, 2018). In addition, the use of the broader environment of the site as a locality of development has always been interpreted from a conservation perspective.

The legalistic interpretation and application of national sovereignty rights by State Parties when it comes to socio-economic development issues concerning their nations is another interesting dimension in the implementation of the 1972 World Heritage Convention (Shackelford, 2008). National sovereignty assumes that matters at local levels are domestic issues (Nicholson, 2002). Historically, and in terms of the United Nations Charter of 1945, there was no "legal right at international law for other states to intrude into matters of purely domestic concern" (Nicholson, 2002: 182). For example, in interpreting how the law of mining is applied to the concept of "common heritage of mankind" there are vastly different and controversial approaches taken in mining in high seas, objects in space, in the Antarctic and World Heritage areas (Nicholson, 2002). Ongoing debate over this aspect is twofold. One side argues that cultural property belongs to the sphere of national law often called the "cultural nationalism approach", while the other argues that cultural property is part of the common heritage of mankind, thereby justifying the World Heritage Convention approach (Müller, 1998: 396; Shackelford, 2008).

Cultural nationalism is based on legal instruments and interests at national level, while the common heritage of mankind is driven by international redistribution instruments that create universal access in favour of those who were not able to access such sites (Nicholson, 2002). This creates tension between the local and global perspective frameworks in dealing with local challenges. For instance, some scholars argue that World Heritage brings about economic restrictions for developing nations through its prioritisation of conservation over other interests (Müller, 1998). But on the other hand, some scholars argue that international cultural heritage laws are "powerless paper tigers that lack enforcement mechanisms" at national levels (Müller, 1998: 404). Therefore, the idea of common heritage should also be related to national legal status and interests (Müller, 1998; Nicholson, 2002). Both the nation-state and the international community have legitimate stakes in cultural heritage protection and both could be suitable actors on different issues (Müller, 1998). Any sovereign state has the power to define and set up appropriate regulations to protect

her heritage, including how it is used (Müller, 1998). But sometimes governments are more concerned with their relative position on the international level and do not care so much about morals or issues of legitimacy (Müller, 1998). Also, what is still lacking between the opposing sides of this debate are the views and opinions of stakeholders that will guide both politics and jurisprudence (Shackelford, 2008). Without a binding resolution or legal effect on the above matters, the international rule of law could be subverted and replaced by dissident state action, confrontation and disunity (Nicholson, 2002). This is complicated by the fact that developing nations are seeking a new and more equitable global economic order through mutually beneficial investments (Nicholson, 2002). Understandably, the modern world is reliant on commercial resource development, but parameters within which this can occur have yet to be finalized and will continue to be balanced against other global, national and individual priorities (Nicholson, 2002). Therefore, it is important to test the views and opinions of stakeholders in this study in order to guide both politics and jurisprudence in balancing conservation and socio-economic development at World Heritage Sites.

2.2.4 Heritage Management in the Post-Colonial Period

This discussion requires one to review how conservation and development at heritage sites have been treated in the post-colonial period of Africa. A democratic governance approach has become an acceptable wave in previously colonized nations and continents such as Africa. Democracy is believed to bring inclusivity and transparency across governance systems of nations. However, the colonial entrenchments of heritage management have not been reversed with the attainment of political independence in many African States (Ndoro & Pwiti, 1999). The complex and problematic nature of indigenous communities and their continued alienation has also not helped this reversal process in Africa (Ndoro & Wijesuriya, 2015). Heritage management approaches in Africa continue to derive their meaning and intended outcomes from colonial prescripts and practices (Eboreime, 2009; Nelson, 2003; Ndoro & Pwiti, 1999, Ndoro *et al*., 2018). Conservation is still characterized by Western philosophies, experts and institutions viewing "third world people as benighted peasants who need help" (Nelson, 2003: 190). This has been sustained through Western taught and mentored African experts (Ndoro & Wijesuriya, 2014). It is quite ironic that Africans are supposed to remain subjects of research, yet they are knowledge-producing people.

Efforts made in the post-colonial period include, among many others the Africa2009 and Conservation and Management of Rock Art Sites (COMRASA) initiatives, which tried to recognised heritage in its local context and encourage the involvement of local communities in the process. While democracy has provided a thin veil of change, colonial tendencies are still visible in management of heritage in Africa (Nelson, 2003).

Another interesting dimension in this review is how colonial privileges and power was left intact in former colonies (Eboreime, 2009; Cock & Fig, 2000). Taking South Africa as an example, it is evident that, though, democracy was a negotiated settlement that involved many explicit and implicit compromises, the privileges and power of apartheid were left intact. This included limited access to land as an economic asset, retaining education curricular and other entrenched inequalities. This applies to many previously colonized nations in Africa. In addition, the review of inherited colonial heritage legal instruments has been very slow in Africa. Where it has been done, it has deliberately omitted critical areas supposed to usher transformation consistent with principles of democracy and decolonization (Nelson, 2003; Ndoro & Wijesuriya, 2015). As an example, Zimbabwe only reviewed her heritage legislation in 2017, yet independence was attained in 1980. The reviewed instrument is still yet to be made law. In these reviews, what is often omitted is how to institutionalize stakeholder involvement and provide guidance on how to handle socio-economic development at heritage sites. This also includes omission of provisions on how national heritage laws should be linked with ratified international protocols, such as the 1972 World Heritage Convention. Heritage management should not continue to be seen as a technical, standardized and non-flexible system with very little room for the other stakeholders to make meaningful contributions (Waterton, 2010). For instance, traditional leaders are now playing a role in the current political structures of nations. This has been done through enacting Traditional Leadership Governance Acts, including establishing Houses of Traditional Leaders or institutions such as the Ingwenyama Trust in the KwaZulu-Natal (KZN) province of South Africa. This Trust owns very large tracts of cultivatable land in KZN. What is not clear in this emerging pattern is the actual power and benefits accruing to such stakeholders in capitalistic economies of Africa. However, overall, all these stakeholders are limited in their operations by legislation and the ambiguity, lack of clarity and frustration associated with access to resources and the land redistribution processes that are taking forever.

However, colonialism has also played a positive role in promoting the identification and protection of heritage., a process that has continued to this present day. The Western approach, though criticized for its monumentality approach, has also helped in kindling interest on redefining interpretation of heritage and the need to decolonize management approaches in Africa. As such, legal instruments have been developed to support the management of cultural heritage at continental level for Africa. One such instrument is the Charter for African Cultural Renaissance adopted by the African Union (AU) at its session held in Khartoum (Sudan) in 2006. The Charter highlights that "people have the inalienable right to organize their cultural life in full harmony with their political, economic, social, philosophical and spiritual ideas" and promotes the social liberation of people (Charter for African Cultural Renaissance, 2006: 2). It further acknowledges that "cultural diversity and unity are a factor of equilibrium and strength in African economic development, conflict resolution and reducing inequality" (Charter for African Cultural Renaissance, 2006: 2). The Charter further recognizes non-institutional actors (such as designers, private developers, associations, local governments and the private sector), who can play a role in heritage management (Charter for African Cultural Renaissance: Part III: Article 11). Although this Charter empowers AU and Member States in promoting Pan-Africanism, cultural and national policies renewal not many African Governments have ratified it. This is worrisome in the sense that the embracing of home-grown solutions by the continent itself is slow and this does not help in changing heritage management approaches in Africa.

Although the combinative effectiveness of national and international legislations in influencing the practice of heritage management over the years is noticeable, the major criticism levelled against them is that they continue to reinforce Western concepts of heritage and conservation in the post-colonial period of Africa (Ndoro & Chirikure 2009; Smith, 2006; Munjeri, 2004b). Failure to take into consideration definitions and manifestations of heritage as a local process, as well as realities of the inescapable socio-economic context, is a major stumbling block in the application of international Conventions in the post-colonial Africa (Abungu & Ndoro, 2008: vii). Also, the total renunciation or reversal of colonial heritage laws is next to impossible as it has both good and bad elements for heritage practice in Africa (Goh, 2008: Michael & Negri, 2000). The good elements can be allowed to persist while the bad ones should be dealt with expediently in Africa

through reviews. However, the renunciation or reversal of colonial heritage laws is also not easy considering the complex public and governance structures left intact by colonial powers in African countries (Michael & Negri, 2000). It is therefore difficult to fully decolonize heritage frameworks of Africa. Furthermore, decolonization has mainly focused on shifting political power to new governments in Africa and this is the reason why economic emancipation has become the current wave of struggle in previously colonized Africa nations. This economic emancipation is linked to land redistribution, an emotive issue on the African continent, leading to economic meltdown of nations as has happened to Zimbabwe since 1999. It is also important to note that good heritage laws are not necessarily a panacea to conservation (Munjeri, 2004). These laws require support of stakeholders (Munjeri, 2004). Therefore, it is equally important to interrogate how heritage management systems have treated different stakeholders or non-state actors in this evolving scenario between conservation and development on the African continent.

2.3 Stakeholders and governance of heritage

Much has been written about local community participation at heritage sites, including at World Heritage sites (Chirikure *et al*., 2010; Jopela, 2010; Charron, 2007; Fowler, 2002; Maradze, 2003; Pwiti & Ndoro, 2001; Blanchard & Trotter, 2001). The organizational structures for local participation exist at local, district, national, continental and international scales but the application varies with context (Fowler, 2002: 82). The objective and intensity of participation, consultation, decision-making framework and initiation action, as well as the instruments used, influence the level of participation by different stakeholders (Mazibuko, 2000; Paul, 1987). This creates an organizationally complex governance framework and network for heritage management, which also means identifying and defining roles of different stakeholders becomes very complex (Fowler, 2002; Samantha, 2012). Such complexity has become a challenge its own right for managing heritage in Africa (Fowler, 2002). This section reviews these issues in the context of balancing conservation and socio-economic developments at World Heritage Sites with a view of benefiting the study at MCLWHS.

Theoretically, communities are any group of people sharing cultural or social characteristics and interests through time and space (NARA +20, 2016; Blanchard & Trotter, 2001). Communities are

also defined by geo-political, economic and cultural bonds (Chirenje *et al.*, 2013; 10). Their participation in any context is defined as an active process by which beneficiary client groups "influence the direction and execution of a development project" (Mazibuko, 2000; Paul, 1987: 2). This is supposed to enhance their well-being in terms of income, personal growth, self-reliance or other values they cherish (Mazibuko, 2000; Paul, 1987). This can be traced back to the pre-colonial period of Africa, in which indigenous communities were actively involved in both conservation and use of heritage as a resource (Jopela, 2010). This pattern changed during the colonial period, in which they become servants of colonial masters with no decision-making power, except where they were strategically used to further colonial agendas. In such cases, such local communities were used to subdue fellow local communities by their colonial masters in exchange for limited autonomy. The post-colonial period has not witnessed increased community involvement in heritage management (Ndoro & Wijesuriya, 2014). Also, the social strata of a local community may pose challenges in the process, as people are not equal and the same, hence their interests and preferences will differ as well (Bell, 2000). It is, therefore, erroneous to think that community participation in heritage management is "internally homogeneous, externally bounded and characterised by a collective consciousness shared by all affiliates" (Bell, 2000: 243).

Relating the above discussion to the World Heritage Convention framework and practices provides interesting perspectives. The 1972 World Heritage Convention and related Operational Guidelines provide a framework for engaging stakeholders. Stakeholders such as individuals, local communities, indigenous peoples, local and regional governments, non-governmental and private organizations and landowners are recognised by the 1972 World Heritage Convention (Operational Guidelines, 2016: para; 12, 40, 64, 119, 123). However, the role of these stakeholders is curtailed by powerful Western nations, the World Heritage Committee, experts and NGOs with an appetite for conservation (Meskell, 2014; Labadi, 2018). Despite this acknowledgement, the 1972 World Heritage Convention still bestows the responsibility of managing World Heritage to State Parties, with the World Heritage Committee wielding its decision-making powers in the process (Flower, 2003). Others are viewed as observers or represented by the State Party (Fowler, 2002). This makes it difficult for the views and rights of other non-state actors to be taken aboard on World Heritage governance (Meskell, 2014). This is all happening despite the fact that one of the 5 Cs of the 1972 World Heritage Convention refers to 'communities' (Rossler, 2010, 2006). The other four Cs are:

credibility, conservation, communication and capacity. It is now widely accepted that local communities embody the "institutional political economies and capillary networks of power" that underlie World Heritage processes in respective State Parties (Meskell, 2014: 221).

While 'community' is defined on the basis of spatial propinquity and shared experience, knowledge, goals and sentiments, it is not clear whether local communities are "emically (affirming solidarity experienced by members)" or "etically (affirming the inferences of an external investigator) determined" (Bell, 2000: 243). The issue is that experiences and representations of community differ through time and space (Bell, 2000). Local participation, despite the rhetoric of community engagement and involvement, has not been fully embraced in the management of heritage sites in Africa (Child, 1995; Chirikure & Pwiti, 2008). Such participation also has different meanings to different actors, resulting in many terms being coined to explain what it means (Chirenje *et al.*, 2013). These terms include: participation, involvement, integration, consultation, community-based management, co-opted, cooperation, collaborating, co-learning and collective action (Chirikure *et al.*, 2010; Chirenje *et al.*, 2013). While there is no clear and single definition of participation by local communities, there is some consensus on participatory planning and the need to involve them. This defines a communally-driven conscious process of diagnosing and resolving their problems (Chirenje *et al.*, 2013: Bhatnagar & Aubrey, 1992). However, local communities are not inspired to implement plans developed by experts without their involvement (Rahman, 2005). Neither are they happy with the top-down participation approach enforced by State Entities (Chirenje *et al.*, 2013). It is also noticeable that most African governments employ non-participatory approaches in decision-making process due to the strength of their legal backing (Chirenje *et al.*, 2013). As a solution, the bottom-up approach is viewed as facilitating decision-making as it takes into consideration the local needs (Chirenje *et al.*, 2013). What is missing is at an empirical level, is our understanding of the views and opinions of those communities operating at local levels. This will assist in defining the bottom-up approach.

While a historical perspective on local community participation is important, it is now clear that in the last twenty years, cultural heritage has become significant in different ways to a much broader range of stakeholders beyond local communities (Meskell, 2014). Such stakeholders cut across the socio-economic and political spectrum of society, including the still ill-defined virtual

global communities that did not exist prior to 1994 (Prieto *et al.*, 2014). These stakeholders sometimes agree or disagree over any aspect of the World Heritage processes, especially when management plans limit or even preclude "non-conforming" types of socio-economic development at World Heritage sites (Jones & Shaw, 2012: Tunbridge & Ashworth, 1996). Also, working with such different stakeholders is not always straightforward, and can create both ethical and practical dilemmas in the process (Prieto *et al.*, 2014). Ethics of consultation, identifying different legitimate voices, weighing the competing interests, and maintaining connections with them are some of the challenges that arise (Prieto *et al.*, 2014). Another challenge is how far back one can go in defining or identifying stakeholders given that they operate at very different levels of social and political complexity in time and space (Jones & Shaw, 2012). In addition, determining the geographic or political boundaries of stakeholders is challenging due to globalization of socio-economic systems (Marcus, 2003). It is evident that physical, social, political and economic boundaries are becoming fluid and dynamic in nature (Marcus, 2000).

Despite these evolving heritage management systems, state-based heritage institutions are still controlling activities of non-state actors at heritage sites (Harrison & Hughes, 2010). Participation of stakeholders, in particular that of local communities, is curtailed and subdued due to their inability to implement their own decisions (Pwiti & Ndoro, 1999; Pwiti & Ndoro, 2001; Maradze, 2003). This could be due to lack of ownership in relation to the sites, knowledge on heritage management and resources to implement their aspirations (YuLong & Hunter, 2015; Cole, 2006; Scheyvens, 2003). Other players are not afforded a chance to say what will work and not work for them in their local conditions (Simmons, 1994). their potential to become part of the solution to local issues is not fully exploited (Cole, 2006; Tosun & Timothy, 2003). This situation allows state-actors to retain a monopoly over heritage and its use (Ndoro & Wijesuriya, 2014; Harrison & Hughes, 2010: 247; Ndoro & Chirikure, 2009). However, it is important to note that local communities living in close proximity to heritage places, since historical times, usually have a role in ensuring the survival of cultural places through their traditional custodianship systems (Jopela, 2010). In relation to the 1972 World Heritage Convention, communities as stakeholders are now encouraged to participate as traditional management systems have been formally recognized at World Heritage properties in Africa (AWHF, 2013).

In discussing role players at heritage sites, different scholars have used different terms such as local communities, traditional custodians, communities, value-based stakeholders, indigenous communities, archaeology communities and many others (see Jopela, 2016; Pikirayi, 2016; Ndoro & Wajesuriya, 2015; Taruvinga, 2007; Sinamai, 2003). The term 'community' is a fluid concept applied in various contexts (Pikirayi, 2016). Also, the term 'cult of community' is used to explain the "complex personal, social and political relationships underpinning community collaborations", including their relations with experts (Pikirayi, 2016: 115). In other heritage studies, the term 'community archaeology' or 'archaeology communities' has been used to fossilise the identification of community groups in relation to the strata of the excavated sites, as well as associative material remains such as pottery (Pikirayi, 2016; Sinamai, 2003). The failure by heritage studies to use other identifiers such as their intangible heritage values has been a consistent and persistent error from colonial times (Pikirayi, 2016; Taruvinga, 2017). This has improved through the recognition of the term Indigenous and Descendant Communities (IDCs). The acceptance and application of IDCs is still not widely accepted on the African continent (Pikirayi, 2016). Also, this has not radically changed how IDCs are viewed at World Heritage sites given the dominance of SBMS.

In the context of this study, the term IDCs is deliberately used to acknowledge value-based communities, who are connected with the multiple and multi-layered values of a heritage site (Pikirayi, 2016). IDCs are those people with "ancestral connections to a particular site or landscape" (Pikirayi, 2016: 116; Chirikure *et al.,* 2015). These are considered "local descendant communities" if they still reside in the site (for example custodians of the Mijikenda Forests in Kenya), while "non-local descendant communities" refers to those who are now living in another geographical location due to other reasons, among them impact of colonialism and creation of protected areas (Pikirayi, 2016:116). The latter characterizes much of Africa, given the history of colonialism, land alienation (forced removals) and the failure of post-colonial land redistributions (Pikirayi, 2016; Huffman, 2014; Ndoro & Wijesuriya, 2014). Both local and non-local descendant communities have "corpus of knowledge" developed through interacting with the landscape over time (Pikirayi, 2016; Evans, 1995). This makes them indispensable to the process of building knowledge and managing their indigenous knowledge systems at heritage sites (Pikirayi, 2016). Non-local descendant communities may not prioritize the past but rather focus on their present

needs, including use of resources such as minerals, water, agricultural land, fauna and flora in what used to be their original places (Pikirayi, 2016). This element brings them closer to other role players with similar interests in the same spaces in order to meet their socio-economic needs as a society. This makes the history and role of IDCs contested as they suffer from counter-claims regarding the ownership and socio-economic use of the landscape. After all is considered, it is they that are supposed to be beneficiaries of conservation and socio-economic developments at heritage site.

In view of all this, some scholars have proposed that community be considered in a broader sociological or systems perspective (Kretzmann & McKnight, 1993). Communities should be conceptualized on the basis of geography, shared interests, values, experiences, politics and traditions (Chirikure & Pwiti, 2008; Pikirayi, 2016). It is further argued that communities are an aggregate phenomenon of the history of their local origins, clan or ethnic groups (Pikirayi, 2016). Furthermore, it is now widely accepted that communities are "continuously replicating and transforming entities, thereby highlighting that they are not frozen, static but rather dynamic" (Pikirayi, 2016: 116). As discussed before, community conservation discourse and involvement in heritage governance was broadly developed within the framework of the so called Community-Based Natural Resource Management (CBNRM) and Transfrontier Conservation Areas (TFCAs). The issues concerning the 'community conservation discourse' and its associated practices, which are mostly shared with the parallel discourse on community participation in cultural heritage management across the region, have an impact on a range of stakeholders. With the above understanding, the use of terms such as IDCs, local communities and many others would be limiting in understanding of evolving role players at heritage sites. The identified role players at heritages and various terminologies discussed herein are thus reduced into one term deliberately used in this study: "stakeholders". The term stakeholder is used to cater for all affected and interested role players at World Heritage sites such as MCLWHS. In this context, there is a need to reconcile the interests and opinions of the stakeholders operating at heritage sites through empirical studies (Nicholson, 2002; Chirikure, 2014).

2.4 World Heritage alignment to Sustainable Development

The localization of SDGs in developing nations and in particular at World Heritage sites has become a preferred approach for aligning heritage to the needs of communities (Labadi, 2018). The application of the Sustainable Development (SD) principle is inseparable from this process. The concept was born out of the realisation that there is a link among the "mounting environmental problems, poverty, inequality and "concerns about a healthy future for humanity" (Hopwood *et al.*, 2005: 4). These links are interwoven at local, regional, national and global levels. SD is based on cross-cutting principles covering futurity (inter-generational equity), social justice (intra-generational equity), transfrontier responsibility (geographical equity), procedural equity (people treated openly and fairly), and inter-species equality (importance of biodiversity) in order to be effective (Haughton, 1999, Hopwood *et al.*, 2005: 9). This would move society from current approaches based on monetary cost or benefit analysis towards a principle-based approach (Giddings *et al.*, 2002: 194). It is important to note that the SD (see Figure 2.4) has been "subject of many resolutions, declarations and events since 2002" (Labadi, 2018: 4).

Originally, the 1992 UN Conference on Environment and Development conceived the three pillars of sustainability: economic, social and environmental (UN, 1992; Giddings et al., 2002; Hardi & Zdan, 1997; du Plessis, 2000; Barton, 2000). Security and peace become the fourth pillar at a later stage (Labadi, 2018; UNCSD, 2012). The social equality pillar focuses on the social well-being of people, while the environmental protection pillar advocates for people to invest in green technologies in order to make sure that the environment remains diverse and productive. The economic growth pillar focuses on attempting to attain more sustainable efforts and development. Resulting from the progressive discussions on sustainable development, the World Commission on Culture and Sustainable Development Conference of 1995 and the Johannesburg Declaration (2002) attempted to have culture as a fourth principle of sustainable development, but this failed (Labadi, 2018). The MDGs never mentioned culture and heritage, while with the 2015 SDGs, culture and heritage are recognised but are not highly profiled (Labadi, 2018). While culture and heritage are mentioned in some of the SDGs targets, this does not reflect their contribution to sustainable development (Labadi, 2018). The SDGs also do not recognize the potential of the two in enhancing quality of life and well-being of all stakeholders (Labadi, 2018). Therefore, culture

can only play a catalytic role in this process until such time its recognised as a full pillar of sustainability (see Figure 2.4).

While each of these principles contribute to the overall idea of sustainability, it is difficult to find evidence of their equal application in country policies and practices worldwide (Brundtland Report, 1987; Daly & Cobb, 1990). In most cases one is prioritised or selectively used over the others (Giddings *et al.,* 2002). Over the years, the environment pillar has become more important to government and businesses community (Giddings *et al.*, 2002; Hardi & Zdan, 1997; du Plessis, 2000; Barton, 2000).

Figure 2.4: Principles of Sustainable Development (source of data; (Giddings et al., 2002: 187, 189).

The separation of these pillars at application level leads to "narrow techno-scientific" and "compartmentalised" approaches in addressing issues of development, yet the desire is to address community needs in a holistic and inclusive approach. Separating impacts of human action into distinct compartments is tantamount to operating in a theoretical realm devoid of their empirical evidence. The application of SD principles is argued to cover a "multitudes of sins" committed by developers (Giddings *et al.,* 2002: 188). Also, SD pillars are considered "fractured and multi-

layered" as they can be applied at "different spatial levels" in real situations (Giddings *et al.,* 2002: 187). In reality, these principles are intertwined, integrated and dependent of each other (Giddings *et al.,* 2002). An integrated approach would help in embracing the "multitude of environments, societies, economies and cultures (Giddings *et al.,* 2002: 188).

In applying SD principles, there is an erroneous perception that supports the idea that one should think globally but act locally (World Commission Report, 1995). In this process, the history and experience of economic development in prosperous European and North American countries serve as a point of reference for developing countries (Szirmai, 2005). This historical approach seldom offers neat solutions to the practical problems that policy makers, politicians, entrepreneurs or development partners are inevitably faced at a local level in developing nations (Szirmai, 2005; Landes, 1998; Maddison, 2001). It is widely agreed that SD is a "contested concept, with theories shaped by people and organizations with different worldviews" (Giddings *et al.,* 2002: 187). This accounts for its varied interpretation and application in real situations (Daly & Cobb, 1990; Hopwood *et al.,* 2005). The point of the matter is that borrowing principles and experiences from other contexts and making them fit within the local context does not always give desired or same results. What is clear in the process is that the economy is dependent on the environment and society (Giddings *et al.,* 2002; Daly, 1992; Wackernagel & Rees, 1996). At least, SD should be dealing with combined concerns of environment and socio-economic issues (Haughton, 1999).

Some scholars and ecologists are even suggesting that it is better to move away from the term SD to sustainability, or sustainable livelihoods (Giddings *et al.,* 2002: 187). This is because SD is seen as prioritizing human needs over everything else (Giddings *et al.,* 2002). Also, these scholars and ecologists believe that there is no common philosophy on SD, but rather abstractions informed by the observer's outlook and their application in real situations (Giddings *et al.,* 2002: 187). Others point out that the commodification of nature is moving society further from principles of sustainable development" (Giddings *et al.,* 2002: 191). SD is also viewed as an ambiguous concept and that it is "inconceivable to talk about the sustainable use of non-renewable resources as exploitation of this finite stock will inexorably lead to its exhaustion" (Labadi, 2018: 41). Irrespective of which definition or terminology is preferred or used, or challenges associated with SD (Turner, 1988), the major point is that SD has a catalytic role in the "integration of different

actions and sectors" dealing with development (Giddings *et al.*, 2002: 192). Also, it has a role in overcoming barriers between disciplines in resolving the needs of society without excluding future opportunities (Giddings *et al.*, 2002).

With or without SD principles, socio-economic development remains a reality for centuries to come, especially in a developing continent such as Africa. This requires interrogating heritage management systems to find out how socio-economic development has been handled from the past to the present. This is in tandem with the need to adopt interdisciplinary and transdisciplinary research cooperation to deal with problems of unsustainability (Enders & Remig, 2014). It is also argued that environmental, economic, and social problems cannot only be solved through technical solutions or mono-disciplinary approaches (Enders & Remig, 2014: 2). This requires social innovations, institutions, innovative governance mechanisms, and political will (Beel *et al*., 2016).

The emerging link between World Heritage and SD is important in this review. Of the seventeen (17) SDGs, World Heritage is more concerned with goal eleven (11) on sustainable cities and communities, in particular, Target 11.4; "strengthen efforts to protect and safeguard the world's cultural and natural heritage to make our cities inclusive, safe, resilient and sustainable" (ICOMOS, 2017). This places cultural heritage in the position of a driver and enabler of sustainable development (ICOMOS, 2017). While there are a few success stories on the impact of World Heritage on local communities, the act of balancing the competing objectives of development and conservation remains a challenge at World Heritage sites (Donnacie, 2010: 149). World Heritage has slowly and cautiously negotiated with the development through a plethora of policies and adopted recommendations on sustainable development (Labadi, 2018; Meskell, 2014).

The term 'sustainable development' first appeared in the Operational Guidelines on the Implementation of the 1972 World Heritage Convention in 1992, when the World Heritage Committee recognised cultural landscapes as reflecting specific techniques of sustainable land use (Labadi, 2018). Subsequent to this, a number of regional and international meetings, workshops and conferences were held over the years to discuss the link between Wold Heritage and sustainable development. However, the doctrinal text of the 1972 World Heritage Convention itself still does not mention the term 'sustainable development' at all (Labadi, 2018). In 1999, the

World Heritage Committee session held in Marrakesh (Morocco), examined the issue of mining and protected areas; this was followed up by another IUCN workshop in September 2000 held in Gland (Switzerland). Both events highlighted the need to balance the relationship among conservation, sustainability and development in the process of contributing to the "social and economic development and the quality of life our communities" (WHC, 2002; UNESCO, 2010: 2). Furthermore, in 2002, the "Johannesburg Declaration" (South Africa) on Sustainable Development recognized heritage as a tool for promoting sustainable development and poverty alleviation (Johannesburg Declaration, 2002). It also recognized the much-needed "long-term perspective and broad-based participation in policy formulation, decision-making and implementation at all levels" (Johannesburg Declaration, 2002: 3).

Subsequently, the 2005 edition of the Operational Guidelines on the Implementation of the 1972 World Heritage Convention noted that "natural and cultural heritage are a significant contribution to sustainable developments" (UNESCO, 2010: 2). Furthermore, in 2008, IUCN issued a statement that World Heritage sites should be off limits for all extractive industries (Marton-Lefevre, 2008). As a result, the International Council on Mining and Metals (ICMM) made commitments to refrain from undertaking exploration or mining activities in World Heritage sites (ICMM, 2008). The Minerals Advisory Council of Canada and Shell made similar commitments as part of moving towards green credentials (Brida *et al.,* 2011). However, commitments of large oil and gas companies on the same do not match those of their mining counterparts and activities at World Heritage sites (Affolder, 2009).

Pursuant to all these developments, the Paraty Action Plan of 2010 recognised the "contribution of World Heritage to sustainable development while noting that securing sustainable development is – almost by definition- an essential condition to guarantee the conservation of heritage" (Decision 34 COM 5D, 2010). The Plan suggested policies and procedures that would integrate sustainable development within the processes of the 1972 World Heritage Convention. Subsequently, the World Heritage Committee (2011) adopted the *"Strategic Action Plan for the Implementation of the 1972 World Heritage Convention, 2012-2022*". The strategic plan challenged the 1972 World Heritage Convention to contribute to sustainable development communities and cultures (UNESCO, 2011).

In 2011, the World Heritage Committee adopted further amendments to the Operational Guidelines, notably in paragraphs 112, 119, 132 and annexes: paragraph 5: 4b and 5e. The amendments were aimed at integrating sustainable development principles into the World Heritage system. Subsequently, the 40th Anniversary of the 1972 World Heritage Convention in Africa (South Africa) under the theme "World heritage and Sustainable Development; Living with World Heritage in Africa" in 2012 assisted in bridging the understanding gap existing among different stakeholders on these matters. The 40th Anniversary Conference was attended by different stakeholders, among them sixteen African Ministers of Culture, Tourism, Environment and Home Affairs, 32 local community representatives living at World Heritage sites (from 16 countries in Africa), academics, heritage institutions, Information Technology sector, extractive and tourism industries, UNESCO and Advisory bodies. Overall, the conference made a plethora of recommendations which called for the co-existence of conservation and socio-economic development at World Heritage properties in Africa (DAC & AWHF, 2014; Cooper, *et al*., 2008). Stakeholders also highlighted that World Heritage should coexist with the needs of communities (DAC & AWHF, 2014). They also argued that neither should be sacrificed for the benefit or survival of the other (DAC & AWHF, 2014). Participants also recommended that the public and private sector needs to communicate and work together to ensure World Heritage invests in socio-economic needs for the benefit of communities (DAC & AWHF, 2014).

The conference further highlighted the need to empower local communities in the decision-making process of World Heritage (DAC & AWHF, 2014). Transparency was considered a key element for effective inclusion and engagement of all stakeholders in balancing World Heritage and socio-economic development. But how stakeholders could be engaged at policy and operational levels was not made clear (DAC & AWHF, 2014). The 2012 discussions underpin a paradigm shift in how heritage management needs to be re-articulated to reflect its relevancy to the local context in which World Heritage finds itself. Again in 2012, the World Heritage Committee, and in consultation with States Parties, included heritage in the process leading to the formulation of the outcomes of the Rio +20 Recommendations (United Nations Conference on Sustainable Development) and the new agenda for development adopted in 2015 by the international community. The RIO+20 Recommendations recognize that stakeholders in their diversity are at

the centre of socio-economic development. In 2014, the 20th Anniversary of the NARA document on Authenticity further recognized sustainable development and the role of multiple and multi-layered stakeholders as important in the implementation of the 1972 World Heritage Convention.

Also in 2012, the World Heritage Committee, at its 36th Session, conceded that the integration of sustainable development into World Heritage processes requires a specific policy. As such a draft "policy on the integration of sustainable development into the processes of the 1972 World Heritage Convention" was developed and is awaiting approval (Labadi, 2018: 5). The definition of sustainable development applied in this draft integration policy, is derived from the Rio+20 conference and includes the four pillars of SD. The draft policy highlights the importance of local investments, sustainable forms of inclusive and equitable economic growth (Labadi, 2018: 5). Once this draft policy is approved it will be operationalized through the Operation Guidelines on the Implementation of the 1972 World Heritage Convention (Labadi, 2018). The challenge and complexity of implementing this integrative policy at site level needs further research, and this research will partially do that from a stakeholder perspective.

The discussions on how to localize SDGs are still a continuing on the African continent. The African State Parties to the 1972 World Heritage Convention have developed position papers on the matter and continue to host side events on the same during World Heritage Committee sessions. These include the Ngorongoro Declaration of 2016. This demonstrates the political and social urgency of this matter in Africa. From the above brief synopsis, it is clear that World Heritage has been cautiously confined to the role of being an active guardian of the past in the process of aligning itself to SDGs. It is, therefore, important to interrogate whether the evolving relationship between World Heritage and its broader alignment to socio-economic development needs of developing nations is creating tension or not at World Heritage sites.

2.5 Conservation and Development: "Tension or no tension"?

The evolving heritage management systems practiced in Africa continue to suffer from colonial overhangs and exogenous concepts that are not sympathetic to how heritage has been managed and used as a resource through indigenous knowledge systems over the centuries (Taruvinga &

Souayibou, 2013; Ndoro & Wijesuriya, 2015). Though post-colonial African heritage experts in Africa have begun questioning these colonial models, some of them still have more in common with colonial authorities than with the stakeholders at the local levels of the heritage site (Ndoro & Wijesuriya, 2015; Chirikure & Pwiti, 2008; Taruvinga, 2008; Munjeri, 2004; Mahachi & Ndoro, 1997). This includes their allegiance to international conventions such as the 1972 World Heritage Convention and associated treaties ratified by their respective State Parties (Ndoro & Wijesuriya, 2015). This colonial legacy is characterized by a mosaic of intertwined and sometimes conflicting factors, which have to be disentangled to create a conducive environment for decolonized models. Empowering stakeholders in the process to achieve a balanced approach in heritage management is important (Muringaniza, 1998; Munjeri, 2002; Taruvinga *et al.*, 2003; Pwiti & Ndoro, 1999, 2001, 2006).

While heritage legislation has been reviewed in some countries to reflect new realities, incorporation of stakeholders and socio-economic development in heritage management has not been very successful (Ndoro *et al*., 2018; Ndoro & Chirikure, 2009). This includes ethically implementing decolonised heritage protocols and tools in the post-colonial period (Chirikure, 2014). The bottom line is that African nations have been very slow in passing heritage reforms that would make the sector relevant to stakeholder aspirations (Ndoro & Wijesuriya, 2015; Nelson, 2003). Slowly, there is a shift from conservation-based approach to value-based approach (Ndoro & Wijesuriya, 2015), implying that there is need to embrace how society defines as of significance to them at a heritage site.

The tension between conservation and development is interesting in that a precedence set by precolonial use of heritage and the 1959 trade-off relating to the Aswan Dam Project has not been systematically investigated or replicated to establish a pragmatic approach for handling such matters at World Heritage sites. As argued before, the pre-colonial period symbolizes a balance between protection and use of heritage sites, including other resources within the immediate environs. However, the trade-off incident of 1959 in Egypt brings to the fore some interesting dimensions on the protection and use of resources, including heritage. First, the Aswan High Dam was constructed to support agriculture, hydropower, and navigation improvement in Egypt (Abu-Zeid & El-Shibini, 2010). Second, this multipurpose dam, though desirable, acknowledged the

threat of flooding the Abu Simbel and other temples, implying that heritage was going to be lost (Donnacie, 2010: 118). Third, recognizing this threat, an appeal was made by Egypt and Sudan to UNESCO for assistance. UNESCO instigated a multi-million-dollar rescue conservation programme to save this heritage and allow the dam construction to proceed (Donnacie, 2010; AKTC, 2005). Fourth, the intensive archaeological rescue excavation led to the removal of the monuments that were under threat from the flood line (Donnacie, 2010: 118). The removed monuments were subsequently reconstructed on higher ground to pave the way for the dam construction (Donnacie, 2010: 118). This relocation demonstrates that heritage can facilitate sustainable socio-economic development, especially if lessons can be drawn from past experiences. Heritage management should not freeze heritage in favour of conservation for posterity without exploring possible bridging approaches like at Aswan Dam.

Fifth, the High Aswan Dam is a testament to how such and related projects are associated with numerous technical, social and political problems that affect stakeholders (Kashef, 1981). For instance, the negative impacts of the dam after its construction remain a concern to various authorities (Kashef, 1981). Many technical and non-technical measures have been developed to ameliorate the negative impacts of dams post this High Aswan Dam project (McCartney, 2009). The successes of these measures have not been properly assessed due to either technical reasons or as a consequence of a variety of socio-economic constraints (McCartney, 2009). These perspectives and experiences could have been used as foundation in building a pragmatic approach in order to balance conservation and development, even before the introduction of the term ‘sustainable development’. It also symbolizes a local need that became an international crisis requiring the intervention of the all affected and interested stakeholders. In the process, heritage was not allowed to stand in the way of progressive development for the benefit of society and UNESCO was fully behind this decision, which could have been built in the framework of the 1972 World Heritage Convention. Rather building on this, the 1972 World Heritage Convention emphasised the prioritization of conservation over development, yet both are important to stakeholders. This implies that heritage has always been sensitive to development needs. While the relocation of the temple outside its original setting to a new place has its own implications, the bottom line is that resembled elements represent the original values and related attributes. but in a different setting. This is similar to moveable collections that have found second homes in high tech

storage facilities or museums worldwide, some of these places are very far from their original places.

Sixth, the relocation of the Abu Simbel site was the first recorded trade-off between conservation and development, which, however, has not been replicated with success at many other sites in developing nations. The worrisome aspect is how long and slow it has been for World Heritage and socio-economic development in finding a beneficial balance, especially taking the precedence set by the pre-colonial model and the progressive approach at Aswan Dam. Neither has an attempt been made to build on the consultation processes that resulted in the trade off at Aswan Dam to deal with similar local challenges. The progressive approach applied at Aswan Dam appear to have been replaced by a plethora of national and international compliance protocols whose objectives is to only advance conservation and allow minimum socio-economic developments at heritage sites. In the process, voices of the state actors and global communities are more pronounced on these matters, while the opinions and views of non-state actors (stakeholders) are hardly given a chance in this process. Hence the need to conduct this study in order to solicit for such opinions not only for the future but also for solving the immediate needs of society.

Seventh, and on the positive side, the High Aswan Dam is argued to have increased transport productivity, summer crops productions and created many downstream jobs in Egypt (Strzepek *et al.,* 2008). Other examples of successful socio-economic development include the high employment levels, curio centre and conferencing facilities achieved by the Cradle of Humankind (South Africa), the major re-positioning for tourism at Tarragona World Heritage site (Spain) and Goree Island (Senegal), and the blossoming craft and hotel industry around the Mombasa and Lamu Islands in Kenya. However, in Tanzania, the proposed re-opening of the Laeotoli footprint trackway for tourism attracted the attention of UNESCO, resulting in numerous reactive monitoring missions to the site and scientific discussions to find a balance between conservation and the tourism appetite for hominid footprints trackway to be opened up to visitors (Taruvinga, 2012). The point of the matter was that the State Party of Tanzania saw an opportunity to diversify visitors experience using Laeotoli and increase the overall numbers of visitors to the archaeological sites in Ngorongoro Conservation Area. Currently, visitorship in Ngorongoro Conservation Area is concentrated in the crater where it is easier to see wildlife and the bomas, where Masaai

communities dwell. Dam constructions in localities with World Heritage have faced the 'resistance' from UNESCO and this creates tension involved parties as is the case with Ethiopia and Kenya at the moment. This is due to the proposed water abstraction (construction of a large dam) along the rift valley system. The proposal has attracted criticism from the international communities as it threatens the ecosystems of both Ethiopia and Kenya (UNESCO World Heritage Committee Reports of the 38th Session, 2014). Therefore, the listing of Lake Turkana on the List of World Heritage in Danger is imminent due to this water-related abstraction proposed by Ethiopia. From a societal perspective, the dam is critical to the livelihoods of different stakeholders, among them communities and farmers. This demonstrates tensions between local realities and World Heritage in developing nations as local needs are still superseded by conservation is prioritised. This approach is replicating itself and continues to manifest on the African continent through the implementation of the 1972 World Heritage Convention.

Contrary to the progressive international spirit exhibited during 1959 with the High Aswan dam project, such water harnessing developments are now being used to persuade State Parties to accept that conservation overrides other local needs in the context of World Heritage (Lane *et al.,* 2016; UNESCO, 2014). The Mohenjo-Daro project (Pakistan), Borobudur temple (Indonesia), and the Cultural Triangle of Sri Lanka have faced similar international pressure to prioritize conservation (Ndoro & Wijesuriya, 2015; Donnacie, 2010). In China, the construction of the Three Gorges dams to reduce dependence on the dirty coal, and to address increasing energy demands, also faced similar international pressure (Ndoro & Wijesuriya, 2014). Also, hydro-power stations have the advantage of promoting clean environments through reducing carbon pollution often associated with fossil sources of energy (Hirsch and Warren,1998).

Another source of tension in balancing conservation and development, is the land restitution process in Africa. This has serious and unexplored implications on how heritage in restituted lands shall be protected and used as part of the broader resources available to successful claimants. This also includes how State Parties, irrespective of legal provisions, should persuade successful claimants to support conservation which has impoverished them for over a century. In South Africa, land restitution in protected areas has conditional terms that do not allow change of land use by the new title holder (DEA 2014). A practical example of this conditionality is the Pafuri

area (Limpopo Province, South Africa) which was returned to the Makuleke family (Cock & Fig, 2000; Maluleke & Steenkamp, 1998). This land had been forcibly taken away from the family and annexed to the Kruger National Park in 1969 (Cock & Fig, 2000; Koch, 1998). The restitution was after protracted and contested negotiations between the family and Park authorities (Tapela & Omara-Ojungu, 2012; Cock & Fig, 2000). On receiving back their ancestral land, the Makuleke community agreed to conservation-compatible land uses (Tapela & Omara-Ojungu, 2012; Cock & Fig, 2000). Both parties also agreed that no "future mining, farming or permanent settlement will occur on the land without permission of the South African National Parks" (Cock & Fig, 2000: 26). The community has since established a Community Property Association to ensure that their interests are protected in this arrangement (Cock & Fig, 2000). Another example is that of the ǂKhomani San community, whose land (50 000 hectares) in the Kalahari Gemsbok National Park (South Africa) was returned to them in 1999 (Cock & Fig, 2000). Currently, South African National Parks is implementing a commonly agreed Management Plan demonstrating the willingness of communities to participate in ecotourism and conservation initiatives (Cock & Fig, 2000).

Land restitution has become a complex political issue in the post-democracy period of Africa given the emotions, cultural and economics attachments to it. For instance, in South Africa, communities are claiming ancestral land on the basis of cultural affinities through protracted social and legal processes (Cock & Fig, 2000). Given the quantum of claims and the need to undertake due verification processes, the period under which land claims could be lodged with appropriate courts had to be extended (Cock & Fig, 2000). This is likely to be overtaken by the move to push for land without compensation in South Africa. Public consultations are on-going and there is a likelihood that this legal amendment will be approved to facilitate this accelerated process. Land restitution can be described as one of the few attempts to bring conservation and community needs together (Koch, 1998). But what remains worrisome is that the views and opinions of state-based institutions are still dominant. Also, this has not been broadly tested with other sacred heritage sites inside protected areas that have a long history of favouring biodiversity conservation.

While a number of regional and international recommendations on the relationship between conservation and development over the years, their implementation has been very slow, further

exacerbating the tension between the two. From 1994 to 2017, the World Heritage Committee was still engrossed with conservation, and in the process frustrating stakeholders interested in development initiatives at heritage sites. The draft integration policy should bridge this gap and offer both the1972 World Heritage Convention and stakeholders a platform for effective co-existence. More importantly for this study, there has been no systematic and inclusive engagement of non-state actors to develop pragmatic solutions to address the relationship between conservation and development. The stakeholders expect benefits beyond the concept of World Heritage (Galla, 2012). This implies that there are many actors and forces operating outside the limits of conservation (Brumann & Berliner, 2016; Chirikure, 2014) and these take "control and pocket the economic and other surplus arising while local communities become heritage victims" (Meskell 2009: 11). The evolving discussions appear to demonstrate that national authorities, World Heritage Committee, local communities, extractive industries, private sector, agriculturalists, financiers, bankers, politicians and civil society as a whole, do not to have a common approach on conservation and development (World Heritage Centre, 2004). Their responses are mixed and demonstrate conflicting positions without an integrative approach. This requires further studies at site level to understand the views and opinions of stakeholders on these issues.

Also, many World Heritage Sites are failing to involve all interested parties, either through deliberate exclusion or just benign neglect (Jokiletho & Cameron, 2008). In some cases, local communities have campaigned against World Heritage designation, because they view such designations as a "threat to various aspects of their ways of life" (Jones & Shaw, 2012: 83). Many stakeholders are, therefore, not motivated to participate due to lack of confidence in the institutions managing heritage, the laborious and drawn-out consultative process, loss of collective values of society in comparison with an increasingly marked individualism, and varied interests regarding land use (Vinals *et al.*, 2012; Lane *et al.*, 2016). The failure to take into consideration realities and needs of stakeholders, including local communities, has become a major stumbling block in the proper application of heritage legal frameworks in Africa, including impact assessments (Taruvinga & Souayibou, 2013; Chirikure, 2014). This situation leads to conflicting claims and interpretations that occur outside the formal discussions of World Heritage (Cameroun, 2014).

The "one-blanket-fits-all approach to World Heritage" stifles alternative and localized voices in the governance of World Heritage sites (Chirikure, 2014:11). This approach fails to bring together the views and expectations of different role players to a point of congruency on matters relating to conservation and socio-economic development at World Heritage sites. The successfulness of this approach has not been tested with empirical studies. Also, governance of World Heritage sites has remained as a top-down approach stirred by the World Heritage Committee, Advisory Bodies and State Parties (Labadi, 2018; Meskell, 2014). It is evident that the conventional conservation approach, is now being challenged on a daily basis as stakeholders want to be involved beyond the conservation aspirations (Chirikure, 2014). The views and opinions of non-state-based actors should be solicited to find out how they can contribute to local solutions from a governance perspective. Stakeholders require capillary action over broader territories that are "representing one among other legitimate societal interests, all deeply connected within the bio-cultural continuum" (Boccardi, 2015: 94). This includes considering people-centred, rights based approaches and heritage impact assessment (Larsen & Wijesuriya. 2015: Wijesuriya *et al.,* 2017).

Another unclear area between conservation and development is the absence of quantitative data for making informed decisions, in particular how they affect each other and contribute to socio-economic needs of stakeholders at World Heritage sites. What is consistently recorded in a quantitative and qualitative manner is the impact of development to society and this is measured against defined indicators. On the other hand, State of Conservation reports submitted by State Parties express in a qualitative manner the negative impact of development on World Heritage. The qualitative description highlights how development is threatening the rationale of the 1972 World Heritage Convention. Also, the Second Cycle of Periodic Reporting of the Africa region conducted in 2011 stated that 21% of the cultural properties in Africa were affected by extractive processes (WHC 35, COM 7C). Furthermore, the 2013 IUCN study on World Heritage and Extractive Industries observed that seven sites were "spatially coincident or proximal to producing extractive operations", while eight sites were spatially coincident or proximal to active explorations/development operations" (UNEP, 2013: 31). However, the IUCN study did not consider "local environmental conditions nor the impact of operating on them" in order to give a total picture of what is actually happening (UNEP, 2013: 32). For instance, the Arabian Oryx Sanctuary (Oman) was the first site in the history of World Heritage to be delisted following a

significant reduction of the boundary of the site in order to allow for oil and gas exploration (Brida *et al.,* 2011).

On the other hand, statistical data is very scarce on how conservation contributes to socio-economic development at World Heritage sites. With initiatives such as extractive industries it is easy to calculate the impact in terms of job creation, contribution to gross domestic product and infrastructural development. Heritage contribution livelihoods is confined to downstream activities relating to tourism, and in some circumstances employment (permanent and seasonal). Based on the qualitative and limited quantitative data available, the scale of benefits from World Heritage is not comparable to those derived from socio-economic development projects. For instance, more quantitative information is required to determine the relationship between extractive industries and World Heritage sites (UNEP, 2013: 22). The absence of quantitative statistics to back up generalized qualitative statements creates an environment that pits conservation against development in developing nations, yet stakeholders may have different views but have never been subjected to validated research. The slow pace at which the 1972 World Heritage Convention has aligned itself to broader socio-economic needs of developing nations is often seen as a burden that hinders development (Labadi, 2018). This is an area that can only be understood by soliciting the views and opinions of affected and interested stakeholders at World Heritage sites.

Furthermore, legislative alignment without understanding the views and opinions of the concerned and affected stakeholders at World Heritage sites, may not be enough in addressing the existing tensions and reinforcing opportunities for benefiting the benefit of society. Ignoring the wider context of development, environmental implications, consequences for the lives and aspirations of stakeholders, World Heritage can be misconstrued as against people (Lane et al., 2016: 152). World Heritage and related practitioners should be "prepared to accept compromises with development to secure a more positive heritage future (Chirikure, 2014: 242).

2.6 Conclusion

This chapter demonstrates that heritage management approaches in Africa have evolved from two different but supposedly intertwined approaches (i.e. Traditional and State-Based Management

Systems). Traditional management systems have their roots in the pre-colonial period while State-Based Management Systems are a result of colonialism. The post-colonial approaches in Africa have not significantly differed from the colonial approaches. This approach has been reinforced by the ratification of International Conventions such as the 1972 World Heritage Convention, which equally pushes the conservation agenda. This review has shown that socio-economic activities are inseparable from heritage sites from the pre-colonial period until the present. While this is the case, heritage management has been slow in building an integrative framework for balancing conservation and development based on pre-colonial experiences, including that of the colonial practices such as the trade-off of 1959 in Egypt at Aswan Dam. If this integration had taken place earlier, it would have informed the framework of the 1972 World Heritage Convention to avoid the pitfall of side-lining development and emphasizing conservation only. The absence of such an integrated framework has perpetuated the alienation of stakeholders in the governance of World Heritage in Africa, yet they have socio-economic needs. In order to address this glaring gap, the 1972 World Heritage Convention has been aligning itself to the Sustainable Development principles. This has given birth to the World Heritage Policy on Sustainable Development, which needs empirical testing at a site such as MCLWHS.

While it is clear is that the debate around heritage and socio-economic development is as old as the inception of the 1972 World Heritage Convention, and that efforts are being made to align with localisation of SDGs, World Heritage governance has remained dominated by SBMS and World Heritage Committee. All other stakeholders are largely marginalised, yet they are the beneficiaries of both conservation and development at World Heritage sites. As such, the multiplier effect of World Heritage on the economy of State Parties and its link to the localization of SDGs is not well understood nor is it facilitated at local levels in a manner that stakeholders are involved and benefitting too. World Heritage and socio-economic development are juxtaposed and remain contested in the absence of a stakeholder-driven process to guide integration. The World Heritage Concept alone is insufficient in addressing social and economic injustices in the present at World Heritage sites such as MCLWHS. It is in this context that this study investigates the views and opinions of stakeholders on the relationship between conservation and development at MCLWHS as a case study, with a view of establishing specific and broader conclusions for application at the sites. The case study builds the framework for identifying all possible stakeholders at MCLWHS.

Chapter 3: Case Study: Mapungubwe Cultural Landscape World Heritage Site

The chapter introduces the case study, Mapungubwe Cultural Landscape World Heritage Site (MCLWHS), which is located in Limpopo Province of South Africa. The site is presented in its four-tier status as a national park, national heritage estate, World Heritage site, and as part of the Greater Mapungubwe Transfrontier Conservation Area (GMTFCA) connecting Botswana, South Africa and Zimbabwe. The significance of the MCLWHS is traced from its broader and regional context, including the management framework taking into consideration this four-tier status. The Outstanding Universal Value of the site is presented as a key element of this study towards understanding the manifestation of World Heritage and its interface with the local and regional context of the site. This creates an opportunity to understand the evolving relationship between conservation and socio-economic developments at the site and the role of stakeholders in the process. This chapter sets the context of understanding the evolution of stakeholder-driven conservation and development at the site. It also provides a framework for identifying stakeholders at MCLWHS. Both are critical in developing the methodological approaches to studying stakeholder-driven conservation and socio-economic development processes at the site (Chapter 4).

3.1 Brief history of Mapungubwe Cultural Landscape

Mapungubwe Cultural Landscape World Heritage Site (see Fig 3.1) covers a broad geographical area which is centred on the very important archaeological site of Mapungubwe hill (see Berry & Cadman, 2012; Huffman, 2000, 2005; Steyn & Nienaber, 2000; Huffman et al., 2004; Calabrese, 2000, 2005; Van Schalkwyk & Hanisch, 2002; Smith, 2006). This archaeological site is located at the confluence of Shashe and Limpopo rivers in South Africa. The southern boundary of the site cuts across geometrical citrus farms, while the northern boundary is the Limpopo River, which forms the frontier between South Africa and the neigbhouring states of Botswana and Zimbabwe (Figure 3.1). The Shashe-Limpopo confluence is central to the history and heritage of the area (Berry & Cadman, 2012; Apley, 2000). The MCLWHS is located inside the Mapungubwe

National Park (MNP). The MNP is one of the 19 Public Parks of South Africa. under the management of South African National Parks. The Mapungubwe archaeological site, with other related sites in the valley and beyond the borders of South Africa (especially in Botswana, Zimbabwe and Mozambique), collectively define the earliest civilizations in ancient southern Africa (Pikirayi, 2016). A farmer and prospector, E.S. J. van Graan, 're-discovered' Mapungubwe on Greefswald farm in 1932 (Pikirayi, 2016; Berry & Cadman, 2012). A local informant named as Mowena is believed to have assisted this prospector in discovering the site (Berry & Cadman, 2012). However, it is also argued that a "bush-wacker" named Francois Lotriet was the first European to see the site, a discovery shared with Mowena (Berry & Cadman, 2012: 48).

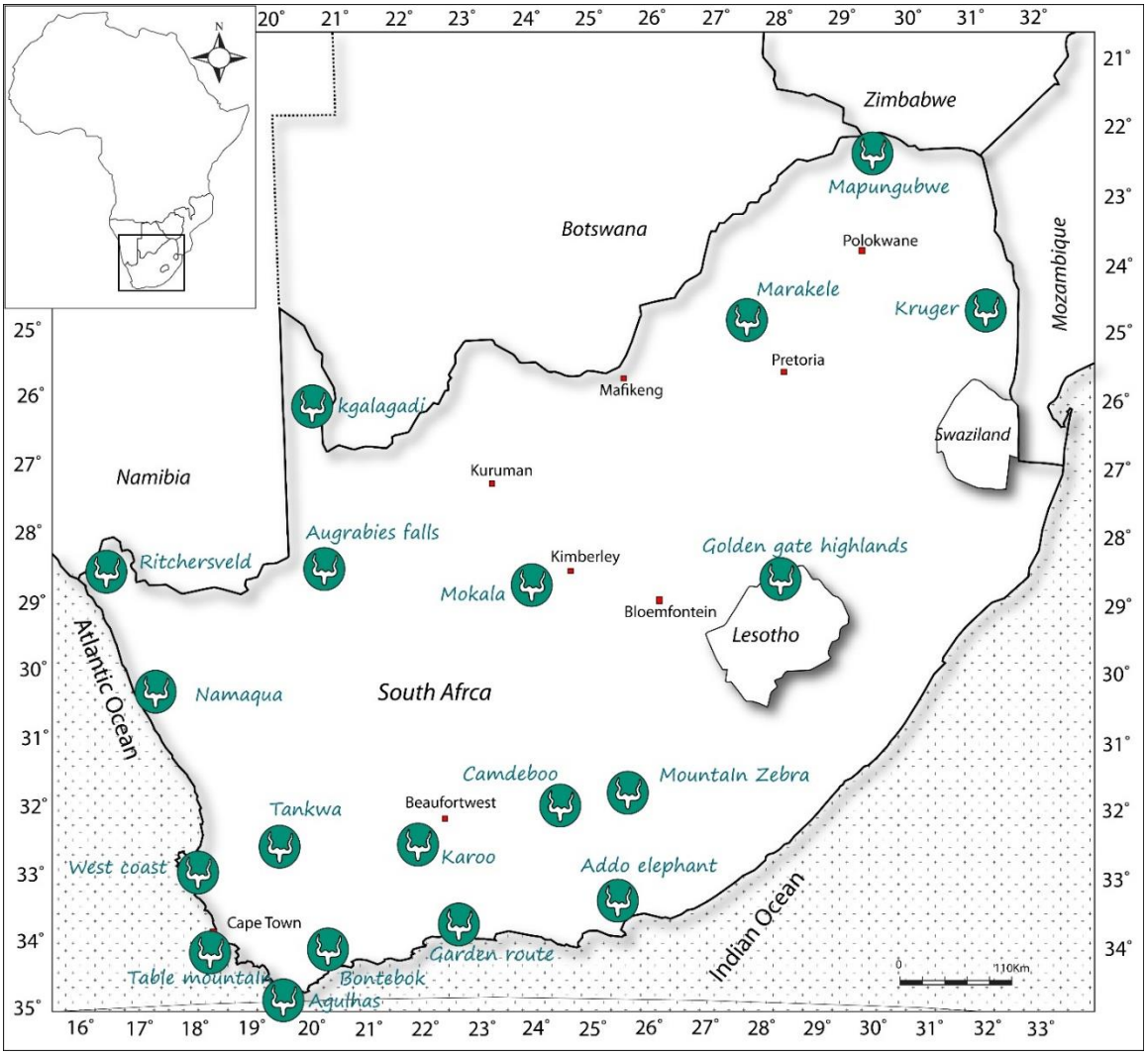

Figure 3.1: Location of MCLWHS of in relation to other National Parks, South Africa

The origins and meaning of the name *Mapungubw*e have generated debates over the years. Oral tradition has it that Mapungubwe means "place or hill of Jackals," or alternatively, "place where Jackals eat" (Fouche, 1937: 1). From various ethnic and linguistic groups in the region, including the Pedi, the Swazi, and Sotho, the name also means "place of wisdom" and "the place where the rock turns into liquid" (Hall *et al.*, 2006*).* Also, from a Shona/Venda perspective, Mapungubwe means the 'rocks of the bateleur eagles' as the word *mapungu* refers to eagle in the plural while the singular noun is '*chapungu'*. The word *ibwe* means stone or rock (Hall, *et al.,* 2006*).* Therefore, 'Mapungubwe' as one word denotes the presence of bateleur eagles in that area (Hall *et al.*, 2006*).* These eagles are believed to have the same symbolism as the soapstone birds recovered at Great Zimbabwe World Heritage site in Zimbabwe (Ndoro, 2001). Some scholars and the descendant communities now prefer calling the site 'Mapungubwe Kingdom'. In this study the name MCLWHS is used in line with its inscription onto the World Heritage List by the World Heritage Committee.

The discovery of Mapungubwe is intertwined with the history of establishing a botanical reserve in 1922. This process started with nine farms being set aside as a Dongola Botanical Reserve (Berry & Cadman, 2012). The process to establish this reserve and advance nature conservation in the Limpopo area remains as one of the recorded bitter and contentious political debate of the 1940s (Berry & Cadman, 2012). This political debate was led by General Jan Smuts (Prime Minister of South Africa; 1919-1924, 1939 and 1948), Dr Illtyd Buller, Pole Evans (a botanist), Andrew Conroy (Minister of Lands during the second term of General Jan Smuts), and Dr Bernard Price, an influential engineer, businessman and philanthropist (Berry & Cadman, 2012). Jan Smuts and Dr Evans used their political and environmental knowledge to push for nature conservation, resulting in the proclaiming of Dongola Wildlife Sanctuary in 1947 (Apley, 2000). This political push marked the beginning of a conservation model that is still in existence in the Mapungubwe area. Regrettably, the Dongola Wildlife Sanctuary was deproclaimed when General Smuts lost his political mandate to the National Party (Apley, 2000). The National Party had been opposed the whole concept from the start as they argued it attacked the livelihoods of Afrikaners practising farming in the area. This is interesting in the sense that livelihoods of farmers were put ahead of any other land use in Mapungubwe. An attempt to revive the Dongola Wildlife Sanctuary was

made in 1968, but it failed (Berry & Cadman, 2012). The proclamation and deproclamation cycles never prioritised the needs of descendant communities at any time. By design, the racial segregation policies of South Africa never factored the issue of descendant communities. It also denotes the power of politics in making such decisions, a phenomenon that continues today with ruling parties having power over opposition parties in making critical decisions that affect society.

However, the Vhembe Game Reserve was first established at a provincial level, and was at later stage subsequently proclaimed as the Vhembe-Dongola National Park in 1998 (Berry & Cadman, 2012). The transition from a provincial to national reserve demonstrates the entrenchment of conservation in the area. This Park, Vhembe-Dongola National Park, become a precursor to the Mapungubwe National Park which was proclaimed on 24 September 2004, but came into operation only in 2006 (DEA, 2014; SANParks, 2013). Parallel to this development, the discovery of kimberlite diamonds on Venetia farm by De Beers in the 1980s set in motion the 'revival' of the conservation initiative started by Dr Evans in Limpopo. As a result, De Beers established the Venetia Limpopo Nature Reserve (VLNR) in 1990 comprising 16 farms (Carruthers, 2006). Given the regional context of MNP, and the political will of South Africa, Zimbabwe and Botswana, they formally established the Greater Mapungubwe Transfrontier Conservation Area (GMTFCA) in 2006. The operationalization of the GMTFCA is still underway in respective countries under joint institutional arrangements binding the concerned Parties.

From a cultural perspective, Mapungubwe Hill was declared a National Heritage Site in 2002 under the category of cultural landscape in accordance with the provisions of the National Heritage Resources Act (25 of 1999). Later, this National Heritage site was also inscribed on the World Heritage List in 2003 under the category of cultural landscape using criteria (ii), (iii), (iv) and (v) and assumed the name MCLWHS. In 2009, it was further declared as a World Heritage site in terms of the South African World Heritage Convention Act (49 of 1999) by the Minister of Environmental Affairs (SANParks, 2013). As such, the boundaries of this National and World Heritage Site straddle across MNP, with the buffer zone extending to privately owned conservancies. MCLWHS is one of the many cultural sites located in Protected Areas, where emphasis has been placed on management of nature for many decades.

The layered history and successive occupation of Mapungubwe from pre-colonial times to the present is the foundation of the cultural significance and evolving land uses at the site (Huffman, 2000, 2005; Steyn & Nienaber, 2000; Huffman *et al.,* 2004; Calabrese, 2000, 2005; Van Schalkwyk & Hanisch, 2002; Smith, 2006). Given the above brief history, MCLWHS is presented in its four- tier status: National Heritage Site, World Heritage Site, protected area, and transfrontier conservation area. This approach assists in discussing the significance, management framework, socio-economic, power-dynamics and stakeholder-related issues at the site. This leads to better understanding of the evolving issues on stakeholder-driven conservation and development at MCLWHS

When MCLWHS is considered in the socio-economic context of Limpopo Province, it becomes clear that its situated in one of the least developed regions of South Africa. At a national level, South Africa has an unemployment rate above 25% and is one of the most unequal societies in the world (Limpopo Provincial Treasury, 2017). In limpopo, unemployment rates are gradually increasing from 19.3% (2016) to 19.6% (2017). The local economy of Limpopo has witnessed a positive growth of 2.0% in terms of GDP in 2015; however, this dropped to 1.6% in 2016 (Limpopo Provincial Treasury, 2017). The contribution of Limpopo to National Economy has been rising from 5.5% (1996) to 7.2% (2016). The Human development index of Limpopo as of 2016 is below 0.60 when compared to the national index of 0.65 (Limpopo Provincial Treasury, 2017).

3.2 National Heritage Status: Significance of MCLWHS

Mapungubwe Archaeological site, which became a National Heritage site in 1999 in terms of the National Heritage Resources Act of 1999, is of significance because it demonstrates successive occupation from pre-colonial period to the present. By the time the site was gazetted as National Heritage, indigenous communities had already been resettled outside the area following the establishment of a National Park, as outlined in the previous section of this chapter. The archaeology of Mapungubwe is testament to the rise and fall of one of the first indigenous kingdoms in Southern Africa between AD900 and AD1300 (Hall & Smith, 2000). Human presence in the Mapungubwe area stretches over at least a million years covering over 400 recorded archaeological sites (Hall & Smith, 2000). These include Stone Age, Rock Art, Iron Age and recent

historical sites (Hall & Smith, 2000; Van Doornum, 2005; SANParks, 2010). The confluence of the Limpopo and Shashe rivers is the interconnector of culture and nature of the area from the past to present times (Hall & Smith, 2000; Van Doornum, 2005). This archaeological significance of MCLWHS is presented in its context as a National Heritage Site.

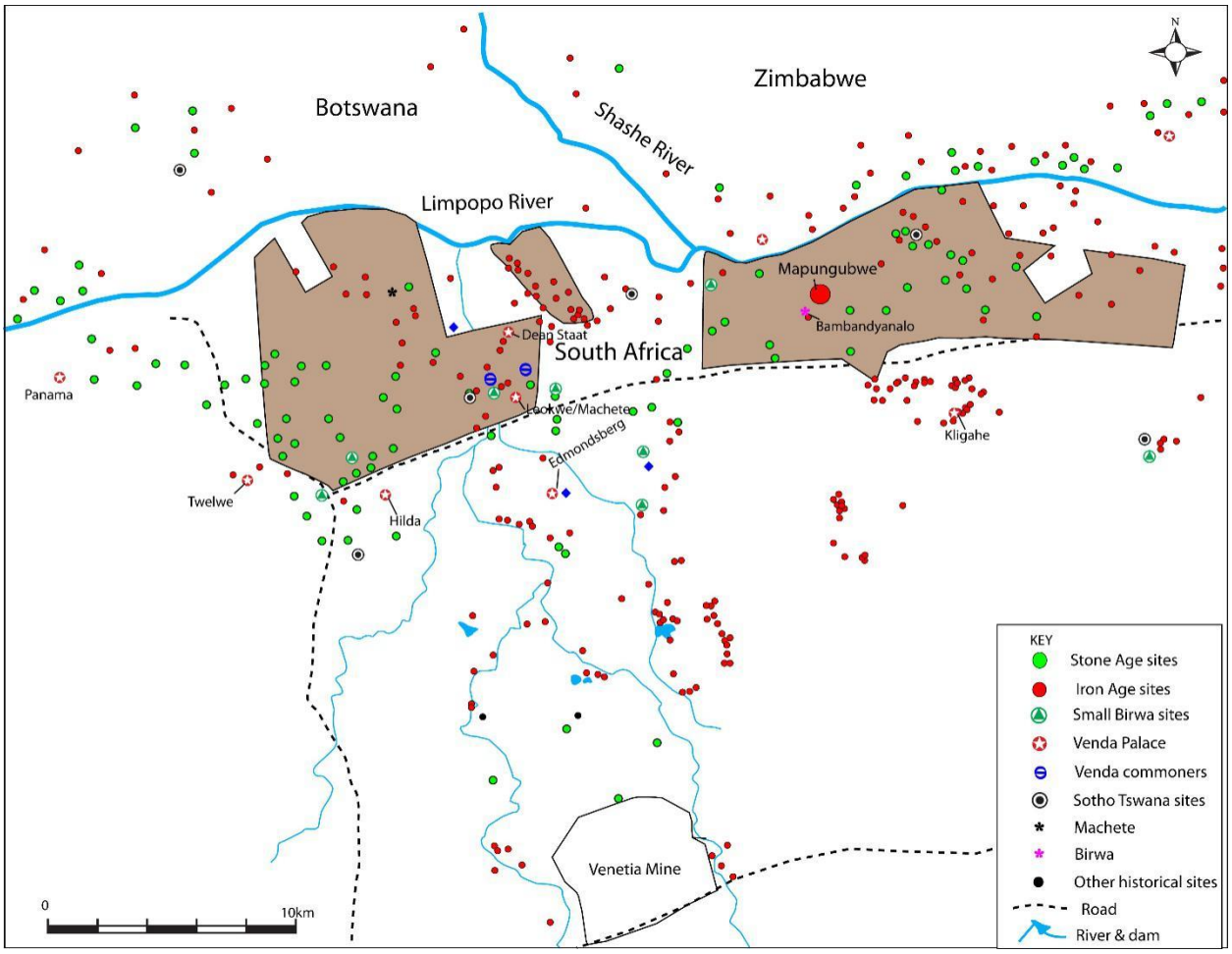

Figure 3.2: Cultural heritage sites in the Greater Mapungubwe Area

3.2.1 Stone Age Period

The earliest archaeological evidence of human occupation comes from Early Stone Age tools excavated in the Mapungubwe area (Kuman *et al.*, 2004, 2009; Pollarolo & Kuman, 2009). Stone Age communities were hunter-gatherers who lived in caves, rock shelters and open areas during the Early, Middle and Late Stone Age periods (Hall & Smith, 2000; Van Doornum, 2005; Deacon,

2011). Their legacy is characterized by rock paintings, stone tools and other cultural practices common among their living descendant communities scattered in the Kalahari Desert and many parts of Southern Africa (Eastwood & Blundell, 1999; Eastwood, 2003; Eastwood, 2006. Davidson-Hunt *et al*., 2016). Using San ethnography, Lewis Williams pioneered much of the work on the interpretation of Rock Art (Eastwood & Blundell, 1999). Scholarship on the Rock Art of Southern Africa suggests that the art provides a record of the beliefs and experiences of the people who created it (Deacon, 2011; 1993, 2005; Lewis-Williams, 1994). The neighbouring landscapes of Botswana and Zimbabwe also have many Rock Art sites linked to the same traditions and beliefs. Also of importance is the herder art in these areas.

Hunter-gatherer presence in the MCLWHS continued during and post the Mapungubwe days (see Van Doornum 2005, 2007; Manyanga, 2007; Manyanga *et al*., 2013; Hall and Smith, 2000). This attests to the fact that it was an expansive landscape which transcended modern political boundaries. Current geopolitical boundaries in Africa are a result of colonialism which disregarded pre-colonial inter- and intra-community connections through intermarriages, cultural affiliations and being members of the same polities spread over vast landscapes divided by rivers and other geographical phenomenon (Pikirayi, 2016). Based on excavations, Van Doornum (2005) argues that the San people occupied Mapungubwe for nearly 13 000 years, after which they were supplanted by the incoming Iron Age farmers, who occupied the area between 900 and 1300 AD (Hall & Smith, 2000).

3.2.2 Iron Age Period; 900AD to 1300AD

Early Iron Age farming people migrated southwards from West Africa between 350 and 600 AD and came into contact with San hunter-gatherers (Huffman, 2005). The Iron Age period in the MCLWHS can be divided into three distinct but overlapping phases. The period 900-1020 AD is associated with Zhizho settlements in the broader Shashi-Limpopo Basin, with the main settlement located on Schroda Farm (Hanisch, 1980; Calabrese 2007, 2000). The next significant phase is the Leopard's Kopje period, 1020-1220 AD, with the settlement at Bambandyanalo. Class distinction is thought to have been clearly marked between 1220-1290 AD known as the Mapungubwe period (Carruthers, 2006). The is the period in which Mapungubwe Hill became significant (Maggs, 2000:

18; Carruthers, 2006; Huffman, 2005). All these three phases represent a growing and dense settlement associated with social classification system at Mapungubwe (Carruthers, 2006). Mapungubwe is a pre-colonial state representing the first stage in a development that would lead to the rise of Great Zimbabwe, Khami and many other stone-walled sites in Southern Africa (Huffman 2000, 2007; Hall, *et al.*, 2006). According to Huffman (2000, 2007), the pre-colonial state of Mapungubwe lasted about 80 years between AD1220 and AD1300. It is argued that Mapungubwe had between 5000-9000 residents at its peak, but the identities of these inhabitants has remained a contested area by indigenous and descendant communities (Carruthers, 2006; Huffman, 2005; Smith, 2006). However, and based on decolonized ethnographic approaches, it is now argued that the site had a population of less than 5000 inhabitants (Ndoro *et al*., 2017; Manyanga *et al.*, 2010). This revised population is calculated based on the traditional family set-up and space configuration derived from ethnographies of indigenous and descendant communities (Ndoro, *et al*., 2017; Manyanga *et al.*, 2010).

Generally, the Iron Age period of Mapungubwe has been subject to many researches from the 1932 (see Fouché, 1937; Galloway, 1959; Gardner, 1963; Hanisch, 1980, 1981; Voigt, 1983; Steyn, 1994; Huffman, 2000, 2005; Steyn & Nienaber, 2000; Huffman *et al.*, 2004; Calabrese, 2000, 2005; Van Schalkwyk & Hanisch, 2002; Smith, 2006; and many others). These researches have yielded tangible evidence relating to the powerful Mapungubwe kingdom (Huffman, 2000, 2005; Pikirayi, 2016). This evidence points to extensive wealth-smithing and social stratification or complex social system at Mapungubwe (Apley, 2000; Huffman, 2005). This Iron Age community flourished as a result of its social and ideological values relating to state formation (Huffman, 2005). Also, the regular flooding of the Limpopo River provided silt and water for crops, thereby sustaining the Mapungubwe Kingdom (Huffman, 2005; Manyanga, 2007). The accumulation of wealth in the form of gold, ivory, glass beads and cotton cloth, gave birth to a social classification system which witnessed the elite and the sacred leader residing at the top of Mapungubwe Hill, while commoners lived in the valley below the hill (Maggs, 2000; Huffman, 2005). This is evident from the distinctive graves, associated grave goods (such as a golden rhinoceros), and an elaborate settlement on the hilltop (Huffman, 2005).

The participation of the Iron Age community in the Indian Ocean trade network along the east coast of Africa, their access to rich natural resources and climatic conditions that allowed sustainable agriculture defined the economic character of this Kingdom (Huffman, 2000, 2005; Calabrese, 2005; Carruthers, 2006). Mapungubwe had long-distance connections with the Chinese, Arab and Indian merchants from as long as 4000 years ago (Steyn & Nienaber, 2000; Huffman *et al.*, 2004; Calabrese, 2000; Van Schalkwyk & Hanisch, 2002). The location of Mapungubwe at the crossings of the north/south and east/west routes in southern Africa enabled it to control trade through the East African ports to India and China and throughout southern Africa. From its hinterland it harvested gold and ivory –commodities in scarce supply elsewhere-which brought it some form wealth displayed in such imports as Chinese porcelain and Persian glass beads (Mapungubwe Nomination Dossier, 1993).

Recent researches have uncovered extensive historical elements pointing to a wider regional importance of this state formation system (Carruthers, 2005). This represents new interpretations which see the development of complexity as taking place at different places and Mapungubwe being one of these places (see Huffman, 2007; Manyanga et al., 2000; Manyanga, 2007; Mothulatshipi, 2008; Chirkure *et al.*, 2013; 2017). For instance, researches on the Zimbabwean side at places such as Mapela Hill, are beginning to challenge interpretations made in the past (Manyanga *et al.*, 2010; Ndoro *et al*., 2017). It is becoming increasingly evident that the "development of socio-political complexity and urbanism was much broader than currently thought" (Manyanga *et al.*, 2010: 586). It is also now argued that pre-colonial southern Africa populations had a "permanent interest and possibly additional dwellings in the countryside where important subsistence activities took place" (Manyanga *et al.*, 2010: 585). Subsistence could easily refer to evolving socio-economic aspects at community level. According to Chirikure (2017: 1) "the demography of prehistoric and contemporary populations occupies an important role in inter-disciplinary and multi-scalar discourses on sustainability". In such studies, this is important in understanding the "ecological and sustainability implications of various population estimates on key resources such as land for agriculture and animal husbandry" (Ndoro *et al*., 2017: 11). For example, the previously suggested population of 20,000 people at Great Zimbabwe was based on wrong ethnographic assumptions (Ndoro, *et al*., 2017). Such a population would have made it unsustainable from an ecological perspective (Ndoro, *et al*., 2017). Furthermore, Chirikure (2017:

14) argues that “low populations are essential to achieve ecological sustainability”. This implies that any study at MCLWHS should be considered within the dynamics of the broader regional context of the site. This regional context points to presence of multiple resources resulting in production specializations that benefitted society (Manyanga *et al.,* 2010). This production extended beyond subsistence levels and was important for these pre-colonial communities as evidenced by craft specialists, smiths and smelters, traders and merchants (Manyanga *et al.,* 2010). This resulted in population agglomeration in the area (Manyanga *et al.,* 2010).

Another dimension emerging from recent research is that neither “K2 nor Mapungubwe qualify to be the region's incipient Zimbabwe culture centres” based on the fact that “Mapela had a fully developed Zimbabwe culture much earlier than Mapungubwe” (Chirikure *et al.,* 2014: 7). It is further argued that “various communities exhibiting identical cultural practices all contributed and participated in early state formation” in the region (Chirikure *et al.,* 2014: 17). Therefore, new archaeological evidence and the associated radio carbon dating from recovered artefacts suggests that early state formation started with the many Leopard's Kopje sites in south-western Zimbabwe and adjacent regions (Chirikure *et al., 2014*: 17). The cultural practices of the present-day Shona and Venda peoples originated during this historical process and this should be taken into consideration in redefining the place of the site in the broader regional context of this tradition (Ralushai, 2003).

The collapse of Mapungubwe as a state is attributed to a number of factors (Carruthers, 2006), among them the onset of the Little Ice Age at the end of the 13th century AD and perhaps a strong El-Nino (O’Connor & Kiker, 2004). It is also attributed to the centre of the regional power shifting to Great Zimbabwe (1290-1450 AD) and later to Khami, owned by Rozvi people in 1450-1820 AD (Carruthers, 2006). The factors made it impossible to sustain the growing population and the power base for such a classified society (Carruthers, 2006). While new evidence may point to revised chronologies of these interconnected sites, it is not a matter for discussion in this research. These emerging interpretations are discussed to provide a revised context towards understanding socio-economic issues and histories of indigenous and descendant communities at the site. What remains clear and for the purpose of this research, is that Mapungubwe remains interwoven into the regional story of how social complexity emerged in southern Africa. The declaration of

Mapungubwe as a National Heritage site lost the opportunity to embrace its broader association with other archaeological sites in the area, and more importantly in connecting the site with spirituality associated with Indigenous and Descendant Communities (IDCs). These IDCs were pushed out of the area due to colonial conservation ethos that separated people from their heritage (Pwiti & Ndoro, 1999; Nelson, 2003; Ndoro, *et al*., 2018).

3.2.2 Spirituality at Mapungubwe

MCLWHS has always been associated with spirituality from the pre-colonial period to the present times. This is largely associated with IDCs of Mapungubwe who are the alienated local custodians of the site. The IDCs include the Venda, Lemba, Leshiba, Machete, Tshivhula, and Vhangona communities (Huffman, 2014; Pikirayi, 2016). The spirituality of the MCLWHS revolves around the traditions and practices of the IDCs. However, the ownership of MCLWHS is contested by these IDCs. The Lemba argue that MCLWHS is their trade centre from pre-colonial. They were black smiths and worked with diamond gold, copper and silver (Chirikure & Taruvinga, 2017). In addition, they were potters and beads manufacturers, hence their name Mushavi (Trader") (Chirikure & Taruvinga, 2017). The Leshiba argue that they have their identity and origins in Mapungubwe Kingdom and are connected with the many practices among them rain calling ceremonies, celebration of new fruits (Chirikure & Taruvinga, 2017). The Machete shares the same spiritual values as the Leshiba Community and have practices supported by *dzin'anga* as persons who were the eyes and ears to see things from far on behalf of the King. They also carry practices in three prominent pools in the Limpopo River, namely, *masivhunde, masibulele, mbangwe* (Chirikure & Taruvinga, 2017). The Tshivhula claim to be the direct descendants of Mapungubwe Kingdom and practice various ceremonies (Chirikure & Taruvinga, 2017). The Vhangona view Mapungubwe as their judiciary and economic capital, with cotton and gold mining have been their preoccupation. All these IDCs are undertaking religions and spiritual practices in the area, hence their request to SANParks to be allowed free access to the site as part of Spiritual protocol of the site (Chirikure & Taruvinga, 2017). The continued identification of past and contemporary communities based on a ceramic industries fixation is a disservice to the complex and intricate history of IDCs of sites such as at MCLWHS (Pikirayi, 2016). There are many facets of cultural traditions that need to be interrogated beyond such narrow approaches in order to understand the

link between the past and present communities (Pikirayi, 2016). The bottom line is that the archaeology of MCLWHS cannot easily be separated from the production of IDCs oral histories and social memory (Hanisch, 2008). It cannot also be separated from the associated land uses at MCLWHS. This study offers an opportunity to fill a critical gap in understanding the complex and intricate history of IDCs, their social memory and vested livelihood interests through stakeholder identification and analysis.

3.3 Mapungubwe Cultural Landscape World Heritage Site

Given the above archaeological significance, in particular being illustration of a complex and hierarchical/socially stratified society in Southern Africa, Mapungubwe was inscribed as a World Heritage site in 2003 using criteria (ii), (iii), (iv) and (v). According the statement of Outstanding Universal Value, MCLWHS illustrates an important interchange of human values that led to far-reaching cultural and social changes in Southern Africa between AD 900 and 1300 (criteria ii), a testimony to the growth and subsequent decline of the Mapungubwe state which at its peak was the largest kingdom in the African subcontinent (criteria iii), "a powerful state trading through the East African ports with Arabia and India was a significant stage in the history of the African sub-continent" (criteria iv) and further illustrates the impact of climate change and record the growth and then decline of the kingdom of Mapungubwe as a clear record of a culture that became vulnerable to irreversible change (criteria v), (Mapungubwe Nomination Dossier, 2003). The elements of this Outstanding Universal Value have been outlined in the archaeological record of this site earlier in this chapter. At the time of inscription, authenticity and integrity of MCLWHS was largely considered not to have been subjected to any destructive form of human intervention since it was abandoned (Mapungubwe Nomination Dossier, 2003). Even then, agricultural activities in the area were also considered to have not had an impact on the cultural landscape (Mapungubwe Nomination Dossier, 2003).

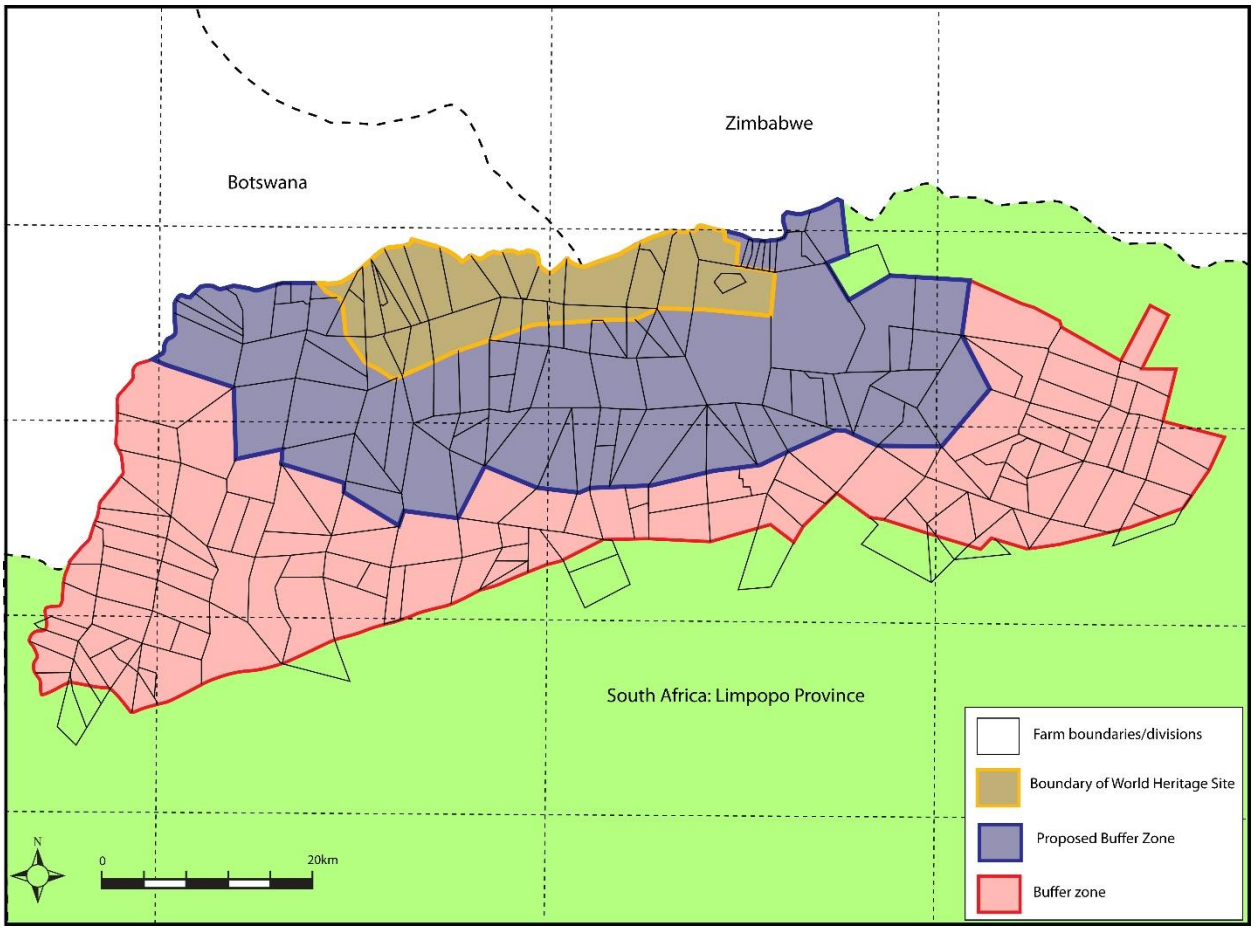

Figure 3.3: MCLWHS; core area and buffer zone

The delineation of the boundaries of MCLWHS was unclear from the beginning, yet the World Heritage Committee proceeded on listing the site. The core area of the MCLWHS had twenty-two farms, measuring approximately 28 168.66 hectares and this area falls under SANParks. The buffer zone of MCLWHS has been a contentious matter since 2009 when 265 900 hectares were set aside to offer extra protection to the core area. The buffer zone was, however, amended in 2011 and is now reduced to the 133 600 hectares in response to the authorization of an extractive process (coal mining) on northern side of the greater Mapungubwe area. The World Heritage Committee had problems with this amended buffer zone and imposed a reactive monitoring process at the site. The IDCs were not involved in this decision to amend the buffer zone as this became a technocratic process with litigations being part of the strategies to resolve the impasse at local levels. In addition, the inscription emphasised the monumentality of the landscape, without much reference

to spirituality of the place as expressed by the IDCs of the MCLWHS. As such, the intangible elements of this site are considered important and could point to an associative landscape, given their connection with ancestral and historical Venda (Pikirayi, 2016).

3.4 Mapungubwe as a Protected Area: Biodiversity

Mapungubwe National Park is intricately linked with this history of establishing "gardens of Eden" in Africa (Nelson, 2003). Also, wildlife management dominates in protected areas (Ditchkoff *et al.,* 2006) and this is at the back of forced removals of rural communities off their land, or being deprived of access to it (Ndoro & Wijesuriya, 2015; Munthali, 2007). The rationale of designing Mapungubwe National Park as a protected area is because it is seen as a home to scenic landscapes and biodiversity of significance that warrant protection (Berry & Cadman, 2012). The sandstone formations, riverine forests, woodlands and the famous baobab trees give it a unique ecological system that supports this biodiversity. This has resulted in high species diversity twenty-four (24) acacia and eight (8) *Commiphora* species, a fairly dense population of shrubby mopane trees, and other trees such as fever, ana, Leadwood, fig and many others (Berry & Cadman, 2012). MNP is home to about 387 bird species, which include the Black Eagle, thick-billed cuckoos, Kori bustards, Grey crowned cranes, great white pelicans, southern pied babbler, crimson-breasted shrike and black-faced waxbill, among many others. The mammals include a large number of African game species that roam freely with the Greater Limpopo-Shashe Transfrontier Conservation Area. These include Zebra, African Bush elephant, White Rhino, Leopard, Transvaal lion, eland, bushbuck, waterbuck, impala, *klipspringer*, baboon, pigs and giraffe, among many others. Reptiles are also in abundance and these include giant plated lizards, ground *agama*, speckled thick-toed geckos, different snake species (python, black mamba, puff-adders and snouted black cobra) and the Nile crocodiles that roam along the Shashe and Limpopo rivers (Bhatasara *et al.,* 2013). Identified threats in the Mapungubwe National Park include mining, habitat loss, agriculture, alien species invasion, climate change, unsustainable harvesting of natural resources and poor land use practices (DEA, 2014). This also includes stakeholder related issues and tensions among IDCs relating to conservation and socio-economic developments at the site (DEA, 2014). This forms the core of the discussion in the next chapter.

3.5 Greater Mapungubwe Transfrontier Conservation Area (GMTFCA)

As stated before, Mapungubwe is a shared heritage resource for Botswana, South Africa and Zimbabwe, which has led to the creation of the GMTFCA, previously referred to as an Interstate Park. The concept of this Interstate Park has its roots in colonial times, however, this proposal failed to materialize due to lack of financial support (Berry & Cadman, 2012). This idea was revived only 50 years later by the Peace Park Foundation. This Foundation was established in 1997 to support the creation of Transfrontier Parks in Southern Africa. In June 2006, ministers from Botswana, South Africa and Zimbabwe signed a Memorandum of Understanding (MoU) committing to the establishment of a 4800km^2 Trans-Frontier Conservation Area (TFCA) known as the GMTFCA. The signing was premised on the fact that all the concerned State Parties were signatories to relevant international conventions governing such large parks, once again highlighting the overriding factor of the international instruments in domestic matters of African State Parties. Botswana, South Africa and Zimbabwe are signatories to the Convention on Biological Diversity (Rio de Janeiro, 1992), the United Nations Convention to Combat Desertification (Paris, 1994), the 1972 World Heritage Convention, the 1973 Convention on International Trade in Endangered Species of Wild Flora and Fauna (CITES), and many other relevant Agreements. At a Regional meeting, these countries are also signatories to the 1992 Treaty of the Southern African Development Community (SADC), the Southern African Development Community Wildlife Policy (1997), the Southern African Development Community Protocol on Wildlife Conservation and Law Enforcement (Maputo, 1999), and enjoy cordial political relations through Bilateral Agreements as State Parties.

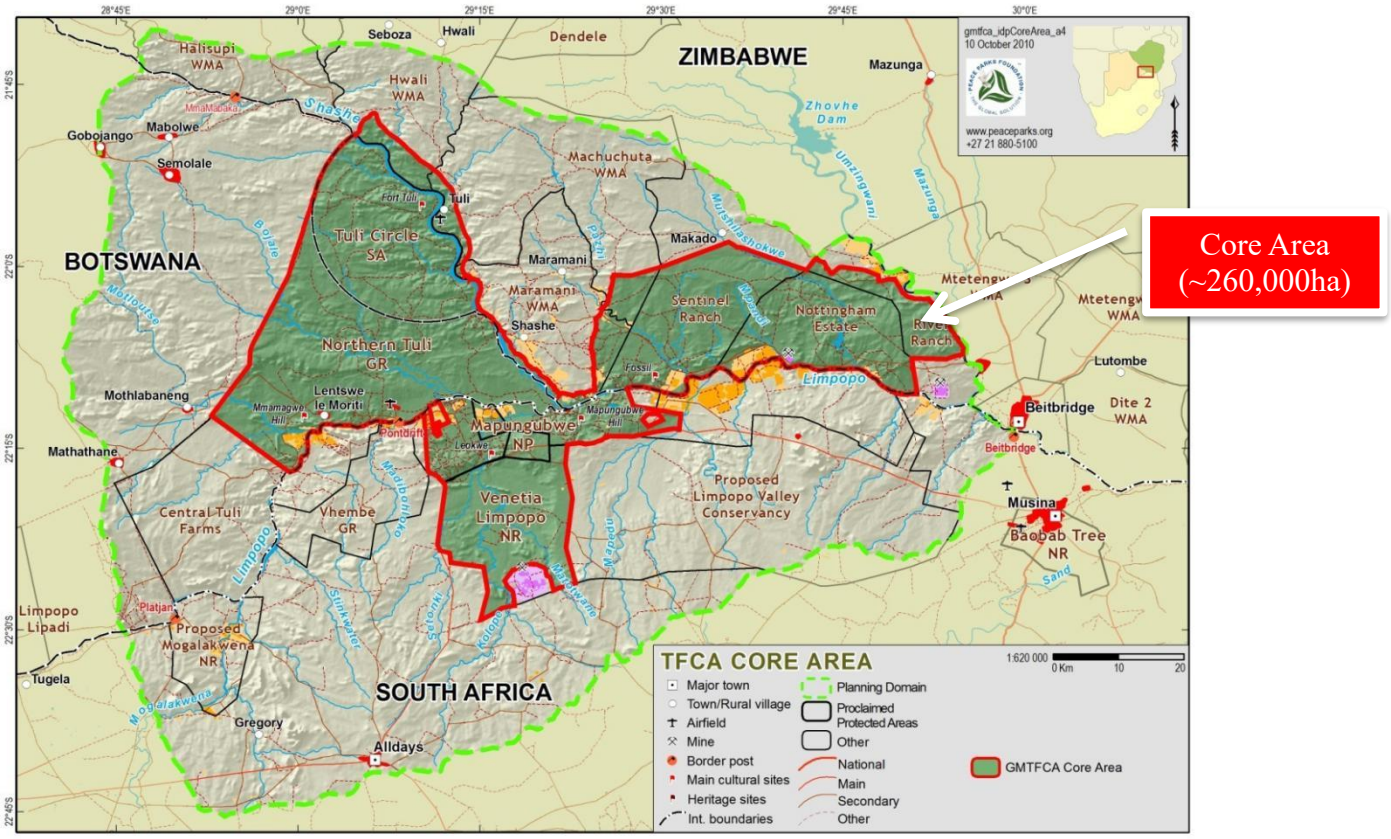

Figure 3.4: Map showing the core area and planning domain of the GMTFCA (Source DEA, 2011).

The GMTFCA covers a complex mosaic of communal areas, national parks, and private conservancies in Botswana, South Africa and Zimbabwe (Berry & Cadman, 2012). In Botswana, the TFCA covers Northern Thuli National park and adjacent private conservancies, while in South Africa, it includes private land, state-owned land and National Parks areas. In Zimbabwe, it includes portions of Maramani communal lands and some privately owned farms. The establishment of the GMTFCA is based on a combination of catchment, cadastral, biodiversity and cultural values of the transient area covering Botswana, South Africa and Zimbabwe (DEA, 2014). TFCA are usually etched out of National Parks, nature reserves and conservancies as a bioregion (Sinthumule, 2014:64). In the case of GMTFCA, communal and private land was involved (Sinthumule, 2014). Therefore, it is important to negotiate and eventually acquire this land for the GMTFCA (Sinthumule, 2014). The GMTFCA provides insight into the ecological, environmental and economic dimensions of the greater Mapungubwe Area (DEA, 2014). The minister from Botswana, Kisto Mokaila, commenting on this historic initiative, aptly summarized the situation

that the GMTFCA had a dual role of promoting both conservation and socio-economic development in the area (Berry & Cadman, 2012). This theoretically means that the expectation was that conservation should drive socio-economic development and *vice versa.* This study provides an opportunity to interrogate this theoretical assertion on whether conservation and socio-economic development have a reciprocal and beneficial relationship.

3.6 Governance of MCLWHS

The governance framework of MCLWHS in its four-tier status is primarily informed by environmental, national and international heritage laws. As a Protected Area/National Park, the National Environmental Management Act No 73 of 1989 is enforced, while as a National Heritage Site, the National Heritage Resources Act No 25 of 1999 is implemented. In the context of a World Heritage status, the 1972 World Heritage Convention, the Operational Guidelines on the Implementation of the 1972 World Heritage Convention and the South African World Heritage Convention Act of 1999 are applied. When MCLWHS is considered in the context of the Greater Mapungubwe Transfrontier Conservation Area (GMTCA), management is supported by all these as cross-cutting legal frameworks, including through the provisions of an Interstate Memorandum of Agreement signed by Botswana, South Africa and Zimbabwe. Therefore, the management of the MCLWHS is based on national, regional and international legal instruments, and this is expressed in the Integrated Management Plan of the site.

The management of the cultural heritage, in its diversity as outlined in the White Paper on Arts, Heritage and Culture of 1998, falls under the Department of Arts and Culture (DAC), a function which is devolved to the South African Heritage Resources Agency (SAHRA). SAHRA, was established by DAC in terms of section 11 of the National Heritage Resources Act. DAC is thus responsible for policy and strategic guidance on management of cultural heritage (tangible and intangible, moveable and immovable) in South Africa. Twenty-four years into democracy, DAC is still reviewing the White Paper in order to align heritage management to evolving good practices and socio-political conditions of the nation. In relation to national development priorities of South Africa, DAC is aligned to Chapter 15 of the National Development Plan that promotes social cohesion and nation building as a strategy for development in South Africa. DAC collaborates

with the Department of Sports and Recreation, Department of Justice as well as Department of Women, Children and People with Disabilities in creating jobs and economic development opportunities using arts, culture and heritage.

In 2012, DAC adopted *Mzansi Golden Economy Strategy* whose primary objective was to strategically position arts and culture sector in job creation and promoting economic development. The strategy also promoted quality education and rural development through the establishment of libraries, monuments and community centres for the benefit of broader society (DAC, 2012). The *Mzansi Golden Economy* is expected to create 5 million jobs by 2022 (DAC, 2012). This would be achieved through reinforcing the Arts, Culture and Heritage (ACH) as an economic growth sector worth domestic investment (DAC, 2012). In order to make impact, *Mzansi Golden Economy Strategy* required a strong social dialogue to focus all stakeholders on encouraging growth in employment-creating activities (DAC, 2012). It is clear that DAC and ACH Sector has joined the bandwagon of socio-economic development (DAC, 2012). Despite all this visionary approach, DAC and related entities suffer from under funding (Taruvinga, 2014). Having understood the significance of the MCLWHS in its various dimensions and levels it is equally important to present its management systems with an emphasis on issues relating to stakeholders, conservation and socio-economic development at the site.

3.6.1 Management as a National Heritage Site

MCLWHS, as a National Heritage Site, is monitored by the South African Heritage Resources Agency (SAHRA) through the provisions of the National Heritage Resources Act (NHRA) of 1999. NHRA is a culmination of many years of heritage laws promulgation dating back to the colonial/apartheid era. The earliest heritage legislation was the Bushman Relics Protection Act of 1911, which stopped rock art exportation with no administrative mechanisms for its management. This Act was followed by the Natural and Historical Monuments of 1923, the Relics and Antiques Act of 1934 and the National Monuments Act of 1969. The National Monuments Act of 1969 was subsequently repelled by the National Heritage Resources Act of 1999. NHRA also borrowed some aspects from national heritage legislation of countries such as Canada, Australia and New Zealand. Also, international documents such as the Burra Charter and the 1972 World Heritage

Convention were used in shaping the NHRA. This further perpetuated some elements of western approaches to heritage management but also enhanced some policy elements at domestic levels (Deacon, 2015). Despite these influences, the guiding principles in the drafting of the NHRA were driven by the governance philosophy of the new democratic South Africa (Deacon, 2015). The preamble of the NHRA alludes to this governance philosophy is indicated in the White Paper on Arts and Culture (e.g. transparency, inclusivity, consultation, and engagement). It also includes additional or broader categories of heritage resources not previously protected, such as intangible heritage or living heritage, historical graves, graves of 'victims of conflict', underwater archaeology, and heritage objects (Deacon, 2015).

NHRA provides for the integrated management system for national heritage resources of South Africa. It guides the identification, conservation, protection and promotion of heritage resources for the present and future generations through a three-tier management system; Grade 1(national estate), Grade II (provincial heritage) and Grade III (local heritage). In terms of the NHRA, Grade I Heritage resources have qualities that are exceptional and are of national significance, while Grade II Heritage resources have special qualities which make them significant within the context of a province or a region. The Grade III category refers to other heritage resources worthy of conservation, which may be at local levels. National heritage is managed by appointed Management Authorities who report directly to SAHRA, while provincial heritage is managed by the Provincial Heritage Resources Authority –(PHRA). Local heritage is managed by PHRAs via the custodial local municipalities.

MCLWHS, as a national heritage site is managed by the South African National Parks, but SAHRA has the oversight compliance monitoring function at the site. SAHRA provides the oversight regulatory and management framework, including guidelines on maintaining inventories of heritage resources and undertaking Heritage Impact Assessments (HIA). In Limpopo Province, the Limpopo Provincial Heritage Authority (LIHRA) has struggled with obtaining the approval of SAHRA due to lack of competence, financial resources, skills and equipment (CLAS, 2016: 42). SAHRA functions are limited to compliance monitoring and ensuring that the site is protected. SAHRA does not provide any funding to SANParks for the management of the site. All other

cultural sites not recognized at this level in the broader area of this study, are under the management of the Limpopo Heritage Resources Authority (LIHRA).

Theoretically, the enactment of the NHRA in South Africa empowers the public and the long-alienated indigenous communities to control the destiny of their heritage (Ndoro & Chirikure, 2009). Some of the critical ideologies of the NHRA include promoting good management of the national estate, encouraging communities to nurture and conserve their legacy so that it may be bequeathed to future generations. It also defines cultural identity, which lies at the heart of spiritual well-being of local communities who had been marginalized for many centuries. Furthermore, NHRA affirms diverse cultures and cultural heritage manifestations as a way of redressing past inequities, including previously neglected research into rich oral traditions and customs of local communities in South Africa.

The ideology of the NHRA also serves in the reproduction rather than the transformation of the social order; being a strategy of containment and social closure (Deacon, 2015). Ideology guides the legal system by formulating rules for behaviour, and inspiring ideas that benefit society (Deacon, 2015). It is further argued that an ideology can be successful if it persuades the majority of people to observe the rules (Deacon, 2015). However, it has been suggested that the implementation of NHRA has had limited success owing to the peace meal implementation of these principles and underfunding of SAHRA (Ndoro & Chirikure, 2009). This has witnessed SAHRA struggling to keep pace with developments around heritage sites. The permitting process of NHRA for such developments has provisions for consultation with the public before authorization is given (Ndlovu, 2011; Prins, 2013). Therefore, the success of a law is not about the number of convictions for breaking it, but about persuading the general public to value their collective heritage (Deacon, 2015). In this context, legislation punishes people only after they have broken the rules (Deacon, 2015). This is often too late because the resources are already destroyed by the time the matter is taken to court (Deacon, 2015).

3.6.2 Management as a Protected Area/National ark

Mapungubwe National Park is one of the 21 Parks under the administration of SANParks. These National Parks are managed under the provisions of the National Environmental Management Act (107 of 1998). DEA, is responsible for the regulatory approach in the management of the environment and the related biodiversity in South Africa. In this context, DEA tries to balance conservation with the sustainable development and equitable distribution of the benefits derived from natural resources (section 24 of the Constitution). The National Environmental Management Act defines environment as referring to the "conditions and influences under which any individual or thing exists, lives or develops". These conditions and influences include renewable and non-renewable natural resources such as air, water, land and all forms of life, the social, political, cultural, economic, working and other factors; and the culture, economic considerations, social systems, politics and value systems that determine the interaction between people and the environment. They also include use of natural resources, and the values and meanings that people attach to life forms, ecological systems, physical and cultural landscapes and places. Furthermore, the National Environmental Management Act requires Protected Areas to submit integrated management plans to ensure the protection, conservation and management of their areas. The DEA also promotes sustainable socio-economic development, but subject to a regulatory process in the form of Environmental Impact Assessments (EIA), Strategic Environmental Impact Assessments (SEA), and where culture is concerned, Heritage Impact Assessments (HIA) regulated by the South African Heritage Resources Agency (SAHRA). In the context of World Heritage sites, the application of the ICOMOS Guidelines on Heritage Impact Assessments for Cultural World Heritage Properties is enforced by DEA as a representative of the State Party to UNESCO on the 1972 World Heritage Convention.

SANParks, established in terms of the National Environmental Management Protected Areas Act 57 of 2003, undertakes the daily management of MNP and all other National Parks on behalf of DEA. These include MNP, Kruger, Golden Gate, Table Mountain and the Mountain Zebra National Parks among many others. Pursuant to this mandate, SANParks conserves, protects, controls and manages the environment and biodiversity in public national parks in South Africa. SANParks also manages Transfrontier initiatives involving any of their National Parks, and in the

case of the study area, the GMTFCA is their responsibility. These National Parks, including MCLWHS, are conservation and tourism magnets for South Africa. In order to fulfil this cultural mandate, SANParks established a heritage department under People and Conservation Division. The Division has a mandate to oversee the management of cultural components in all their Parks, yet the majority of the staff in this division are nature specialists. The placement of the heritage department under People and Conservation is questionable, given that nature is under the Scientific Services Division of SANParks. Nature and Culture are equally important values of heritage in South Africa, yet they are treated differently by SANParks.

SANParks desires to "develop, expand, manage and promote a system of sustainable national parks that represents biodiversity and heritage assets, through innovation and best practices for the just and equitable benefit of current and future generations" (SANParks website). As such, programmes promoting access and benefit sharing, socio-economic development and improved living conditions for local communities adjacent to National Parks are implemented (SANParks, 2013). Socio-economic development is implemented through two vehicles, the Expanded Public Works Programme (EPWP) and the Social Investment Programme (SIP). EPWP has its origins in the Growth and Development Summit of 2003. The EPWP is a government- expanded Public Works programme that creates employment and transfers incomes to poor households on a temporary and seasonal basis inside Protected Areas (SANParks, 2013). The programme supports environment and culture programmes inside parks. On the other hand, SIP promotes legacy development projects within rural communities bordering National Parks (SANParks, 2013). These legacy projects include building school facilities and establishing computer centres. The SIP is supported through a community fund, derived from a levy charged on all accommodation services in national parks (SANParks, 2013).

Despite having all these beneficiation mechanisms in place, MNP, just like another park, faces the challenge of finding sustainable solutions to the growing gap between socio-economic needs of neighbouring communities and the long term conservation goals. At MNP, this is happening in a fast- changing and dynamic socio-political environment of Limpopo Province. While SANParks has been implementing good practices in wildlife conservation, they have been criticized for ethos-fortressing conservation, thereby continue marginalizing the needs of local communities

(Carruthers, 2006). SANParks has developed various policies on the management of heritage within National Parks, promote community engagement and socio-economic development. The "Policy on conservation, management and promotion of cultural heritage resources in SANParks" came into effect in 2011. However, funding for cultural heritage by SANParks remains inadequate and is a matter under review through the recently established Directorate of Cultural Heritage. The Directorate is trying to close the gap between nature and culture in National Parks, as well as build internal capacity to realise this dream.

3.6.3 Interstate Governance of the GMTFCA

The management of the GMTFCA is through the Memorandum of Agreement (MoA) signed by the State Parties of Botswana, South Africa and Zimbabwe in 2006. The MoA promotes ecosystem integrity, biodiversity conservation, cultural heritage resources management and sustainable socio-economic development across international boundaries. Article 4 of the MoA articulates the management imperatives as:

(a) fostering trans-national collaboration and co-operation between the Parties which will facilitate effective ecosystem and cultural heritage resources management in the TFCA;
(b) promoting alliances in the management of biological natural resources and cultural heritage resources by encouraging social, economic and other partnerships among the Parties and Stakeholders;
(c) enhancing ecosystem integrity and natural ecological processes by harmonizing environmental management policies and procedures across international boundaries and striving to remove artificial barriers impeding the natural movement of wildlife;
(d) facilitating the establishment and maintenance of a sustainable sub-regional economic base through appropriate development frameworks, strategies and work plans;
(e) developing trans-border eco-tourism as a means of fostering regional socio-economic development and;
(f) establishing mechanisms to facilitate the exchange of technical, scientific and legal information for the joint management of the ecosystem.

The management structure of the GMTFCA is mainly constituted by Parties to the MoA. The structures include the TFCA Trilateral Ministerial Committee, TFCA Trilateral Technical Committee, and the TFCA Trilateral Advisory Committees. These structures bring together regional role players such as the Mapungubwe National Park (South Africa), Botswana National Museums (Botswana), Department of Wildlife and National Parks (Botswana), Zimbabwe National Parks Management Authority (Zimbabwe), Department of Veterinary Services (Botswana), National Museums and Monuments of Zimbabwe (Zimbabwe), SANParks (South Africa), representatives of private conservancies and non-governmental organizations in the GMTFCA. This also brings into the matrix numerous non-governmental organizations such as Peace Park Foundation. The only local community group included in the GMTFCA is that of Maramani communal area in Zimbabwe. This structure is expected to work with them, including any other local community that could be possible brought back as a result of successful land claims in the area on the South African side. Therefore, MCLWHS, and as part of the GMTFCA, has regional role players with vested interests in both cultural and natural heritage.

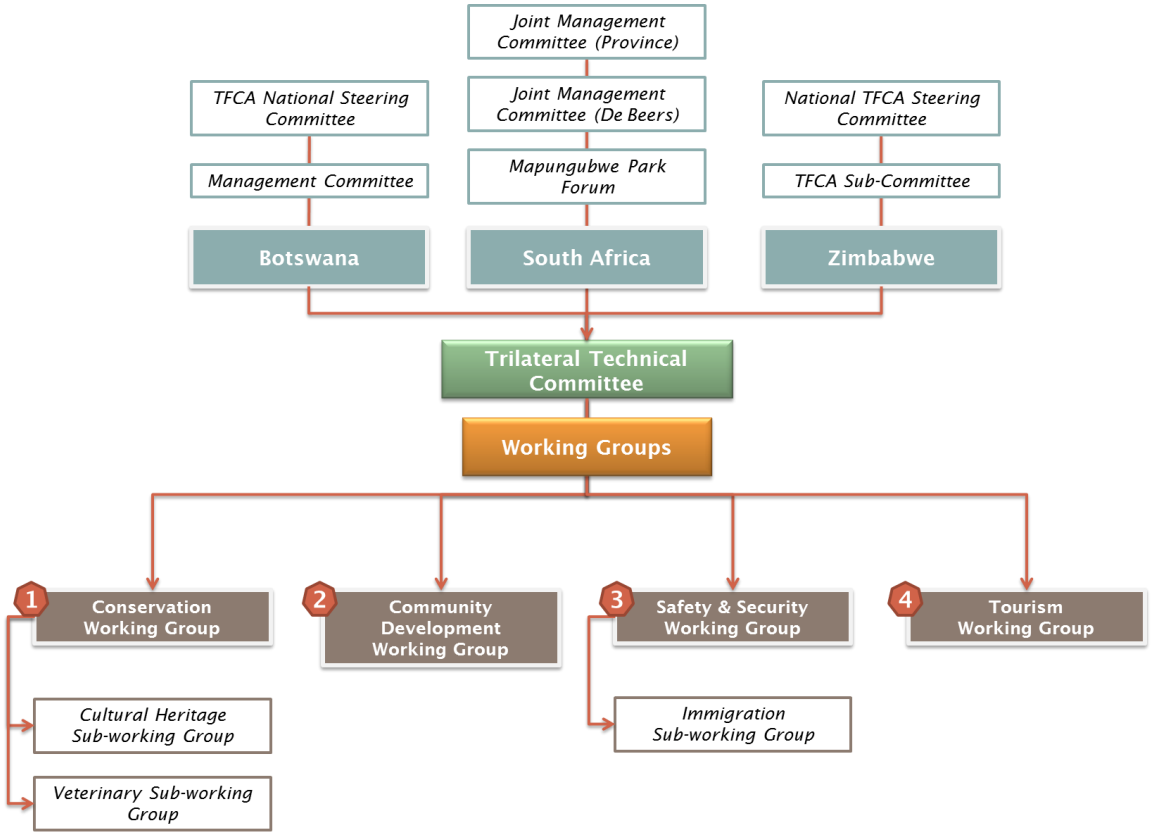

Figure 3.5: Role Players involved in the GMTFCA (DEA, 2011)

Each State Party to the GMTFCA was expected to develop a Management Plan for its respective area, which would lead to a Joint Management Plan for the GMTFCA. This Joint Management Plan was expected to address conservation, cultural, tourism and revenue matters, and other issues of common interest and mutual impact within the GMTFCA. The finalization and implementation of the Joint Management Plan has not happened as expected and each State Party is in its own corner due to limited funding and different national priorities. Also, the land reform process in Zimbabwe had far reaching implications on the reality of the GMTFCA as land changed hands. Also, Zimbabwe was expected to relocate some cattle from Maramani to relieve grazing area outside the core of the GMTFCA and this has not happened (Sinthumule, 2014). The land claims by IDCs in the Mapungubwe area is another threat to the operationalisation of the GMTFCA. Another dimension which has not been fully explored in the context of GMTFCA, is the extension of the MCLWHS to Botswana and Zimbabwe given their cultural connection and presence of similar material culture.

In this matrix, DEA has the mandate for overall management of SA component of TFCAs, interdepartmental and inter-governmental communication, assist with marketing of the initiative and the formalization of policies and monitoring implementation in the GMTFCA. They also act as the lead agent in negotiations and entering into international agreements among many other administrative responsibilities. On the other hand, SANParks was given the mandate to facilitate planning, marketing, infrastructure development, ecosystem management, trans-boundary ecotourism development, exchange of technical and scientific information with Botswana and Zimbabwe in the context of the GMTFCA.

3.6.4 Management at World Heritage site level

As a World Heritage site, Mapungubwe is managed through the provisions of the 1972 World Heritage Convention. The 1972 World Heritage Convention provides for the inscription, conservation, and promoting of sites such as MCLWHS. This approach is coordinated by the World Heritage Committee supported by the Advisory Bodies (IUCN, ICOMOS and ICCROM – (see chapter 2). In addition, the Operational Guidelines on the Implementation of the 1972 World

Heritage Convention provides further extended framework for managing sites such as MCLWHS. This includes reactive monitoring missions, state of conservation reporting, placing inscribed sites on the the List of World Heritage in Danger in order to mitigate aggravating conservation issues and delisting sites which have lost their OUV, authenticity and integrity. They also provide for the granting of International Assistance under the World Heritage Fund, and mobilization of national and international support in favour of the 1972 World Heritage Convention.

The South African World Heritage Convention Act No. 49 of 1999 represents the deliberate domestication of the 1972 World Heritage Convention by the State Party of South Africa. South Africa is the first sub-Saharan country that domesticated the 1972 World Heritage Convention immediately after independence. The coordination of these international and national legal instruments at MCLWHS is the responsibility of the Department of Environmental Affairs (DEA). In addition, DEA has developed binding national guidelines and structures on the implementation of the 1972 World Heritage Convention in South Africa. In terms of the South African World Heritage Convention Act (Act No. 49 of 1999), Management Authorities of World Heritage sites in South Africa are expected to develop and implement Integrated Management Plans (IMP), as well as comply with the Environmental Regulatory framework governing Protected Areas. These Management Authorities are appointed in terms of *section 8* and *section 9* of the WHCA by the Minister of Environmental Affairs and *section 25 (1)* of the South African World Heritage Convention Act. Also, the performance of the Management Authority is assessed by the Minister in terms of the section 12 (2) of the same Act based on audited annual reports.

The South African World Heritage Convention Act has the following provisions but not limited to;

1. *Section 3 (a)*, which articulates the cultural and environmental protection and sustainable development of, and related activities within World Heritage sites;
2. *Section 4 (1)* <u>which states that;</u>

   (a) cultural and natural heritage management must be sensitive to the people and their needs and must equitably serve their physical, psychological, developmental, cultural and social interests;

(b) development must be socially, culturally, environmentally and economically sustainable;

(d) the participation of all interested and affected parties in the governance of cultural and natural heritage must be promoted;

(g) decisions must take into account the interests, needs and values of all interested and affected parties;

- *(k)* there must be intergovernmental co-ordination and harmonisation of policies;
- *(m)* policy, administrative practice and legislation and the interpretation of existing legislation relating to the cultural and natural heritage must promote the integration of these resources in provincial, urban and rural planning and social and economic development;

3. *Section 4 (2)* includes but not limited to the following issues on sustainable development at World Heritage sites;

   (e) the use and exploitation of non-renewable natural resources is responsible and equitable, and takes into account the consequences of the depletion of the resource;

   (f) the development, use and exploitation of renewable resources and the ecosystems of which they are part do not exceed the level beyond which their integrity is jeopardized;

   (h) negative impacts on the environment and on the environmental rights of people must be anticipated and prevented, and where they cannot be prevented, must be mitigated;

4. *Section 22*, which provides for integrated management plans for World Heritage sites in South Africa, including compliance with provisions of crossing cutting legislations and plans among them: National Environmental Management Act (1998), National Heritage Resources Act (1999), Cultural Institutions Act (1998), Development Facilitation Act (1995), National Parks Act, Provincial government planning and development plans, Regional planning and developmental plans, as well as Local government planning and development plans.

The South African World Heritage Convention Act also provides governing structures linked to the daily management of sites such as the MCLWHS. This includes monitoring the state of

conservation as an on-going concern at all World Heritage sites in South Africa. The South African World Heritage Convention Committee (SAWHCC) established in 1997 is one such important structure. Due to operational challenges this failed to operate as expected and the Committee was reconstituted in 2008, with an enhanced mandate to coordinate an intergovernmental structure advising the relevant Ministers and departments on all matters pertaining to 1972 World Heritage Convention, Operational Guidelines on the Implementation of the 1972 World Heritage Convention and South African World Heritage Convention Act (WHCA) of 1999.

The SAWHCC also has a mandate to recommend to the Minister of DEA properties which meet the criteria for inclusion on the South African Tentative List, examine the state of conservation reports for inscribed properties in South Africa and make recommendations on properties from the South African Tentative List. It was also empowered with powers to develop and, where necessary, review the national guidelines by which requests for International Assistance through the World Heritage Fund, as well as seek innovative ways to assist potential as well as existing World Heritage Sites with financial and technical assistance. The Committee also reviews and provides advice on the integrated management plans of World Heritage sites, as well as advise the Minister on World Heritage matters under discussion during World Heritage Committee sessions. In addition, the Committee is tasked with identifying training and capacity building needs at national level, including raising public awareness of World Heritage Sites and the 1972 World Heritage Convention in South Africa (DEA, 2013). As of now, this has been expanded to include various experts appointed by the Minister to support this mandate.

Closely related to the SAWHCC is the Site Managers Forum (SMF) constituted by the 10 site Managers of existing World Heritage properties in South Africa. This Forum shares information and experiences in the management of World Heritage sites in South Africa, as well as support the activities of the SAWHCC. Also, this Forum has been advocating for the involvement of local communities and creating socio-economic opportunities at World Heritage sites. Some of the challenges that face SAWHCC and SMF include poor attendance by its members, inability to attract funding and lack of consistency in decision making around World Heritage matters, especially around impacts of socio-economic developments at sites, in particular the contentious extractive industries in South Africa (DEA, 2013). For example, financial limitations do not permit

all SAWHCC and SMF members to attend the WH Committee sessions as part of the State Delegation.

The monitoring and evaluation framework for the Management Plan of MCLWHS is in line with the World Heritage Reporting cycles outlined in the Operational Guidelines on the Implementation of the 1972 World Heritage Convention. MCLWHS is expected to comply with the State of Conservation (SOC) reporting framework, periodic reporting cycle (every five years), reactive monitoring reporting deadlines as imposed by the World Heritage Committee when need arises, and the submission of an audited annual report as required by the SAWHCC.

3.6.5 Crosscutting legislations of MCLWHS

MCLWHS in its four-tier status interfaces with cross cutting governance system and interprovincial laws implemented by both the National and Provincial Governments. The Limpopo Department of Economic Development, Environment and Tourism, the Provincial Heritage Resources Agency, the Vhembe and Capricorn District Municipalities, as well as the Musina and Blouberg Local Municipalities are important role players in the management of MCLWHS in its four-tier status. MCLWHS is part of a catchment area that has been a source of livelihoods for many centuries, of which water abstraction needs to be regulated to avoid catastrophic consequences to the ecological systems of the area. The management of this water catchment area is through the National Water Act of 1998 implemented by the Department of Water Affairs and Sanitation. Also, MCLWHS is situated in an area with both renewable and non-renewable resources, that include minerals. The Department of Mineral Resources (DMR), through the Minerals and Petroleum Resources Development Act (MRPRDA) of 2002 and amendments thereof, provides equitable access and sustainable development of the nation's mineral and petroleum resources in South Africa. MRPRDA recognises that minerals and petroleum are non-renewable natural resources that belong to the nation and should contribute to development. In its preamble, the MRPRDA highlights the need to protect the environment for the benefit of present and future generations, ensure ecologically sustainable development of mineral and petroleum resources in order to promote economic and social development and promote local and rural development, as well as promote social upliftment of communities affected by extractive

industries. At the same time, it also affirms the State's commitment to guaranteeing security of tenure in respect of prospecting and mining operations. This is done through an internationally competitive and efficient administrative supported by a regulatory regime for exploitation of such non-renewable resources.

Another cross-cutting measure is promotion of sustainable socio-economic development and protection of the environmental by the Limpopo Department of Economic Development, Environment and Tourism (LEDET). LEDET is expected to contribute to the growth of the economy and job creation through targeted interventions. Their mandate also includes the protection and enhancement of environmental assets and natural resources. LEDET has also the responsibility of strategically positioning Limpopo Province as a competitive and preferred tourist destination within the South African Development Community (SADC). This includes the role of municipalities such Musina, Thulamela, Mkhado and Collins Chibane in such initiatives over and above their primary responsibility of meeting the needs of residents.

3.7 The Integrated Management Planning Framework of MCLWHS

The integrated management of MCLWHS in its four-tier status is coordinated through the Mapungubwe National Park and World Heritage Site Management Plan. The Plan promotes conservation of culture and nature (SANParks, 2013). SANParks applies strategic adaptive management as the foundation of all the planning processes (Herman, 2013). This approach is a realisation that the MCLWHS cannot function in isolation from its broader context (SANParks, 2013). The plan also adopts a deliberate spatial planning framework to make provisions for the multiple functions of park which are: conservation, tourism, and visitor experience initiatives (SANParks, 2013). In this context, a zoning process for the landscape identifies: '*Primitive Zone*', for preserving the solitude, remoteness, serenity and wilderness qualities, with controlled access in relation to the number, frequency and size of groups that visit such areas (SANParks, 2013). The second zone, '*Low Intensity Zone*', is for mitigating impacts of a high level of tourism and infrastructure development through careful planning and active management (SANParks, 2013). The cultural heritage sites, picnic sites, and game-viewing areas are parts of this zone. The third zone, '*High Intensity Zone',* is designed to retain a level of ecological integrity consistent with that

of a protected area, though it has the highest level of deviation from the natural pristine state allowed in the zone. This is the areas with high density of tourism and infrastructural development, with shops, restaurants, and interpretive centre (SANParks, 2013).

The planning process and implementation requires regular consultative meetings with interested and affected stakeholders, including local communities. This is done through Park Forum (which meets quarterly) and other means of engagement as required by the Environmental Act and Protected Areas Act. The Park Forum is governed by the Park Forum Charter adopted in 2011. Even the National Heritage Resources Act of 1999 requires stakeholders to be consulted in all these processes. From an implementation perspective, most outstanding targets relate to cultural aspects which have been under-funded over the years. Lack of capacity in this area for many years also contributed to this scenario. In response to this, SANParks appointed a General Manager for Heritage Management in 2017. SANParks is now moving towards capacitating the Heritage Division and this is expected to bring on board different cultural heritage experts as scientists to push this cultural heritage agenda.

In order to improve implementation of set targets in the Integrated Management Plans, DEA introduced the Management Effectiveness Tracking Tool (METT) for all WHS in South Africa (Figure 3.6).

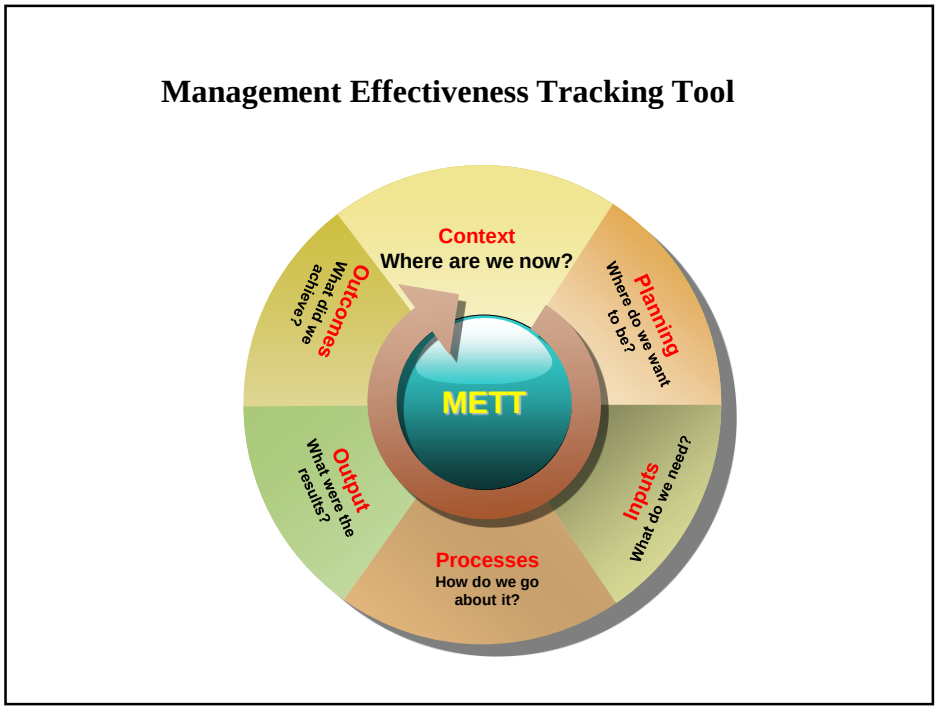

Figure 3.6: Elements of the Management Effectiveness Tracking Tool (METT) (Source: DEA, 2014)

METT assesses the effectiveness of management strategies in Protected Areas and World Heritage sites. METT assesses the following aspects: *context* (the legal, physical, biological, cultural and heritage environment of the site), *planning* (all aspects of broad planning, which set the longer term vision and objectives for the site), *inputs* (allocation of resources and the establishment of information generating programmes), *processes* (key management actions and practices), *outputs* (key products, services and implementation actions) and *outcomes* (results or consequences measured against the set objectives and values of the site). During METT assessments, any score above 67% denotes effective management at a particular World Heritage site. While it is a tracking tool, it has some elements that can be used to audit performance of a World Heritage sites in line with the approved targets of Integrated Management Plans.

From 2014/15, MCLWHS has demonstrated METT score assessments averaging between 81% and 75.1% compared to all other World Heritage sites in South Africa. This demonstrates consistency and effectiveness of the management system used at the site by SANParks. The

individual scores against each element of METT shows that MCLWHS has been effective in all elements probably demonstrating years of experience in managing the site as a Protected Area.

WORLD HERITAGE SITE	CONTEXT	PLANNING	INPUTS	PROCESS	OUTPUTS	OUTCOMES	TOTAL	%
Mapungubwe	15	16	29	29	10	16	115	75.1
iSimangaliso	14	18	33	35	12	18	130	83.3
Richtersveld	9	6	13	5	3	3	39	25.8
Robben Island Museum	14	18	25	21	5	11	94	61.8
uKhahlamba Drakensberg	9	15	23	23	8	13	91	60.2
Vredefort Dome	6	7	0	0	1	0	14	9.2
CAPE FLORA REGION WORLD HERITAGE SITE								
Baviaanskloof	16	13	32	32	10	14	117	76.4
Gamkaberg Nature Reserve Complex	14	15	30	35	12	17	123	80.3
Goukamma	10	12	24	28	9	14	97	61.7
Hottentots Holland Nature Reserve Complex	14	15	26	33	9	14	111	73
Limietberg Nature Reserve Complex	12	16	28	32	9	14	111	73
Swartberg	13	14	28	30	11	17	113	71.1
Table Mountain	10	16	32	27	11	13	109	71.2
FOSSIL HOMINID SITES OF SOUTH AFRICA								
Cradle of Humankind	9	13	23	21	5	7	78	51.6
Makapan Valley	8	15	9	12	4	6	54	35.7
Taung Skull	13	15	23	20	10	10	91	63.1

WORLD HERITAGE SITE	CONTEXT	PLANNING	INPUTS	PROCESS	OUTPUTS	OUTCOMES	TOTAL	%
Mapungubwe	15	16	29	29	10	16	115	75.1
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Vredefort Dome	6	7	0	0	1	0	14	9.2
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Gamkaberg Nature Reserve Complex	14	15	30	35	12	17	123	80.3
Goukamma	10	12	24	28	9	14	97	61.7
Hottentots Holland Nature Reserve Complex	14	15	26	33	9	14	111	73
Limietberg Nature Reserve Complex	12	16	28	32	9	14	111	73
Swartberg	13	14	28	30	11	17	113	71.1
Table Mountain	10	16	32	27	11	13	109	71.2
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Makapan Valley	8	15	9	12	4	6	54	35.7
Taung Skull	13	15	23	20	10	10	91	63.1

Figure 3.7: METT scores for 2015/16 (DEA, 2018)

Of major concern at WHS in South Africa, including MCLWHS, is the deficiencies in capacity/resources to enforce regulations and by-laws due to limited budgets, low staffing levels, lack of training and equipping staff. Also, the METT has generally indicated that the development and implementation of management plans is also an area of concern in South Africa. Another area of concern is the limited number of socio-economic development projects that benefit local stakeholders. at sites such as MCLWHS. The impact of such projects on the regional economy remains minor and cannot be measured due to a lack of economic and social indicators and regular assessments of the same in the context of Integrated Management Plans of such sites. This is compounded by lack of community liaison structures on the decision-making boards of World Heritage Sites in South Africa. The METT results profiled in this research take into cognisance the fact that auditing of these assessments is running behind due to internal processes and the further refining of the tool by DEA, of which it has become an online tool as of 2019.

3.8 Conclusion

MCLWHS reflects on the society that utilised it from the past to the present times (Carruthers, 2006; Lowenthal, 2005; Pikirayi, 2016). It is an important cultural landscape at national, regional and international levels, but its significance initially ignored the spirituality associated with IDCs of the site. The IDCs were relocated outside the area during the colonial period but some are slowly coming back to the site through the land claims. To date, six farms have been given back to IDCs with the understanding that the land use shall not change from conservation related activities. When MCLWHS is considered in its four-tier status as a national heritage site, World Heritage Site, Protected Area and GMTFCA, it is clear that its management framework is supported by multiple and cross-cutting legislations (national and interstate). This creates both opportunities and constraints in balancing conservation and development at the site. This also reinforces the State-Based Management Systems at the site, which continue to marginalise other stakeholders who are only consulted via Park Forums. However, emphasis remains placed on the conservation of biodiversity which can be traced to the history of the site. While a Division on Cultural Heritage has been established it remains to be seen whether it will embark on an aggressive transformatory approach to have culture recognised as a driver and enabler for sustainable socio-economic development World Heritage sites located inside Protected Areas.

More importantly for this research, is that the four-tier status of MCLWHS gives birth to many stakeholders who need to be systematically identified, categorised and profiled in the context of their interests at the site. As such, the next chapter identifies the stakeholders of MCLWHS.

Chapter 4: Identifying Stakeholders of MCLWHS

4.1 Introduction

This chapter identifies all possible stakeholders from pre-colonial to the present at MCLWHS. The stakeholder identification process builds from the previous chapter, which discussed the site in its four-tier status. Variables such as history, significance, evolving land uses, state of conservation, were considered through a historiographical analysis to identify emerging stakeholders at MCLWHS. The emerging stakeholders include Indigenous and Descendant Communities (IDCs), farmers, extractive industries, hoteliers, hunters, academics, politicians, learners, lawyers and multiple government departments with varying influence and decision making powers. Emphasis was placed on identifying their interests and interaction with the landscape, as well as their respective roles. As such, the chapter gives overarching patterns, views and challenges relating to conservation and socio-economic development at MCLWHS, through time and space at the site. Particular attention was paid to how the legislative approach has faced multiple governance challenges with these stakeholders given their varying interests in the broader geographic area of the site. The chapter argues that the values and attributes of the MCLWHS in its four-tier status demonstrates the "use, exploitation and maximization of natural resources to reinforce social, political and economic values" at the site (Carruthers, 2006: 10). This defines the value based approach used in identifying stakeholders at the site, which was supported by historiography and archival approaches applied in the process. Based on the above understanding, the chapter reconstructs stakeholders at MCLWHS from the pre-colonial to the present context of the site. The term stakeholder applied herein and as argued before in Chapter 2, refers to all interested and affected role players at MCLWHS. The identified tensions among stakeholders demonstrated the need to solicit their views and opinions on a range of thematic issues relating to conservation and socio-economic development at MCLWHS. This need became the basis of formulating a theoretical framework and a methodological approach of the study presented in the next chapter.

4.2 Stakeholder Identification and Analysis Approach at MCLWHS

Historically, MCLWHS has been home to many successive communities, including the 'archaeological communities' and IDCs who continue to venerate the landscape as sacred from the pre-colonial period (Pikirayi, 2011, 2016). Though the site has a history of successive occupations by different groups, there are some periods that have paucity of data on the occupants of the site (Pikirayi, 2016). Therefore, it is important to situate the stakeholder analysis into the timelines or chronology of the site. In the process, a combination of historiography and archival analysis were used as generally accepted approaches. Historiography uncovers the meaning of cyclical and linear time in relation to the experience of the past and the future expectation of concerned people (Rüsen, 1996). It has the ability to answer different questions and within independent intellectual views (Goodman, 2005; Iggers, 2005; Ralushai, 2003; Rüsen, 1996). Historiography sources for MCLWHS refer to historical narratives published over the years, archaeological materials, primary records of the SANParks relating to the site, and other published materials. On the one hand, 'archival approach' refers to the evaluation of recorded materials relating to MCLWHS. These materials include newspaper archives, consultation documents, minutes of meetings, oral traditions, commission reports and any other documents that can give insights into stakeholders at the site. In addition, archival research has the ability to overcome exclusions and silences in other dominant accounts (Flinn, 2011). This promotes better understanding of the past by stakeholders (Flinn, 2011).

An impetus that pushes for the use of both historiography and archival approach in contemporary studies, is the need to address how "colonial categories of knowledge flattened the multi-sided experiences of people in colonies" (Cooper, 1994: 1517). The combined aim of historiography and archival approach is to reconstruct a record of evolving stakeholders at MCLWHS through time and space. However, this approach is sensitive to the fact that archival practice is "political, loaded with meaning, pressures, and consequences" (Schwartz & Cook, 2002), hence the need to have a balanced and analytical approach (Flinn, 2007; 2008). Also, this study acknowledges that history-making and archiving are never neutral or disinterested activities (Flinn, 2008). It also acknowledges the challenges of using such approaches on their own, without other methods, hence the value based approach in this process. In mitigation, universally accepted and conventional

approaches of identifying stakeholders, such as interest and needs analysis matrix, legislative mandates analysis and decision making power levels were integrated with value based approach, historiography and archival analysis to create a holistic and inclusive stakeholder identification approach for this study. All these approaches helped in tracing and reconstructing the stakeholders of MCLWHS which, who are presented in the sections of this chapter.

4.2.1 Indigenous and Descendant Communities of MCLWHS

Indigenous and Descendent communities of MCLWHS are derived from communities that lived in the area in the past including hunters and gatherers and farmers. These are linked to the archaeological and cultural history records of MCLWHS.IDCs assert their claim from history presented in the previous chapters. These IDCs include the Venda, Lemba, Leshiba, Machete, Tshivhula, and cultural practices represented by intangible processes and tangible places in the landscape (Murimbika, 2006). This connection is extended to recent times (Huffman, 2014; Pikirayi, 2016). While these are based on historical, social or spiritual connections, but classified as individual communities they also have other socio-economic interests in the area which are largely connected in the complex history of their evolution at the site largely as Venda communities (Pikirayi, 2016). While archaeological sites can be dated to the centuries back, it is the group identity that is more important in identifying the associated indegeneous communities (Esterhuysen & Smith, 2007; Huffman, 2014). The historiography and archival records of the Mapungubwe area show that IDCs have been recorded in detail since the 1940s (Fouche, 1937; Van Warmelo, 1940; Esterhuysen & Smith, 2007). Such recordings or researches have intensified in the post-apartheid era due to the need to redefine national identities and promote social cohesion among the IDCs of South Africa. There are multiple IDCs connected with MCLWHS. These IDCs assert their claim from history and cultural practices represented by the intangible processes and tangible places in the landscape (Murimbika, 2006). This connection is extended to recent times, even though they were resettled outside this landscape during the establishment of Protected Areas. However, note that all their claims are based on historical, social or spiritual connections, but they also have other socio-economic interests in the area which also has a long history. While these multiple IDCs are connected with MCLWHS, their respective narratives are contested, especially around the ownership and use of the site.

The Venda identity of IDCs at MCLWHS is viewed as a present day variation of the Zimbabwe culture characterized by the transformation of Kalanga, Karanga and Sotho-Tswana languages (Huffman, 2014; Wentzel, 1983; Estrada, 1927). The identity is considered as an "outgrowth of a merger between Shona (*Khami*) and Sotho-Tswana (*Icon*) ceramic styles. Huffman (2012) argues that *Icon* pottery is found at over 65 sites in Mapungubwe, and the Twamamba, who made Khami pottery moved into the Limpopo valley. It is also believed that the vaVenda consolidated their transformation before the arrival of Singo, who moved across the Limpopo in the 1690s (Beach, 1980). Singo, related to Changamire Rozwi, conquered the independent chiefdoms and consolidated Venda as a nation (Beach 1980). Singo ruled from Dzata in Nzhelele valley (Stayt, 1931). Historical records and oral traditions indicate that Tshivula dynasty of Twamamba, intermarried with the Singo people (Huffman, 2014; Van Warmelo, 1940). Later, and due to internal disagreements, Tshivula moved to Mavhambo, east of the Saltpan. The first Machete was later dispatched to the North from Mavhambo (Huffman, 2014). On the hand the Birwa dynasty (North Sotho group) and the Sotho-Tswana groups lived around Leokwe Hill (Van Warmelo, 1953). Birwa probably occupied the western of Leokwe hill which was associated with the ceremonies (Calabrese, 2007). The pottery recovered from Tauyatswala, and associated cattle kraals and stone walling is similar to that of southwest Zimbabwe (Van Schalkwyk, 1994). Birwa settlements, especially the walling, have a link with Bambandynalo, which is presumed to the headquarters of Thaha, a Kalanga Chief (Huffman, 2014). Scholars argue that Birwa occupied Letshidzhili, which was not far from Leokwe Hill experienced some tensions from Bambandynalo (Van Warmelo, 1940). Leokwe Hill was abandoned in the mid-1860s because of tensions (Huffman, 2014).

Dzata is the only paramount Chief Capital in Venda, and it was abandoned with the rise of the legendary leader Thohoyandou. As such, Dzata was divided into three competing contemporary dynasties of Mphephu, Tsuvhase and Mphaphuli (Huffman, 2014). The multi-ethnic intermarriages between Birwa, Sotho-Tswana and Venda contributed to the Sotho-ization of Machete and the Tshivula (Huffman, 2014; Hofmeyer, 1890; Beuster, 1879). The Venda sites confirm that agricultural lands were limited due to poor climate and this contributed to low numbers and poverty among local communities (Huffman, 2014). Therefore, issues of addressing

poverty among communities in the Limpopo Valley can be traced back to this period. This also includes the dreams and aspirations of IDCs in Botswana, South Africa and Zimbabwe as a regional phenomenon.

The North and Sotho Tswana groups later spread to the new Bobirwa (west of Blouberg) and Gwanda area (Zimbabwe), while some Birwa moved to south of Limpopo due to Ngwato expansion from central Botswana (Beach, 1974). The connection between Khami phase and Venda, broadly signifies the regional connection between Mapungubwe and similar sites in the region, hence the close linkages between lineages in South Africa and Zimbabwe. Sotho-Tswana people intermarried with the Birwa. Also, another Tswana group known as Kwena under the leadership of Moseri moved into the area about the same time (Van Warmelo, 1940). Moseri was the grandfather of Tshiwana and Mavhina, the two brothers that are recorded in relation with Mapungubwe (Esterhuysen & Smith, 2007; Fouche, 1937; Ralushai, 2002). There is speculation that Moseri may have moved into Mapungubwe in the 1840s and could have married the sister of Machete 1 (Fouche, 1937). Tshivula dynasty also intermarried with Birwa. These intermarriages imply that a multi-ethnic community shared the Limpopo valley during Machete I's era (Bonner & Carruthers, 2003).

According to the oral traditions, the Tshivula are considered the most senior dynasty of the Twamamba which dates back to the 15th century (Van Warmelo, 1940). The Machete lineage is viewed as a minor division of the Tshivula community. The Tshivula dynasty claim Machemma as an early headquarters (Ralushai, 2002). Archaeological excavations have dated this site to the 15th century (Huffman, 2014). From an archaeological perspective, this Khami Phase in Mapungubwe marks the arrival of the Tshivula dynasty (Huffman, 2014). It is also argued that Raletaupe was the son of Chief Tshivula, who was named as 'Machete' meaning 'Mr Be Quiet' (Van Warmelo, 1940). At that time, Leokwe Hill was under Chief Thaha, who was a Kalanga (Huffman, 2014). Also present at this time was the Sotho Tswana (Huffman, 2014, 2005). When Chief Machete died, his son Rantshana took over but did not rule for a long time as he was assassinated through witchcraft. This led to the abandonment of Leokwe Hills (Huffman, 2014). The reigning Machete was probably living on the flat alluvial terraces near Limpopo until the 18th century (Trevor & Mellor, 1908; Holmgren *et al.*, 2003). Also, the end of the 18th century coincided

with frequent droughts which made subsistence agriculture less successful in the area. The Machete chieftainship at Mapungubwe eventually ended with the arrival of the Dutch and Europeans in the Limpopo basin (Huffman, 2014).

Three other palaces appear to be connected to the Machete dynasty, namely Edmondsburg ridge south of Leokwe Hill, Kilsyth an area that overlooks the large vlei on Den Staat (Huffman, 2014). Den Staat could have become the capital after the unusual death of Machete II due to witchcraft. A small palace located on Hilda range, which is opposite Kolope, and Edmondsburg ridge have single palace walls in a defensive position (Huffman, 2014). These two sites could possible mark the gradual decline of the Venda political power in the area. The Limpopo River played an important role in separating chiefdoms. One of the best known Venda *Misanda* or Chiefdom is located on the Mmamagwa Hill near the confluence of Motloutse and Limpopo rivers. Another *misanda* stands on a ridge on the Ratho farm, while another one is overlooks a stream on Parma (Huffman, 2014). It would appear Mmamagwa was the capital of the dynasty separate from Parma and Ratho, and all were separate from Machete (Huffman, 2014). Other *misanda* are found across the Limpopo in Zimbabwe. What is clear is that the Khami and Venda *misanda* are identical thereby signalling the close relationship between the communities of the two neigbhouring countries (Huffman, 2014).

The Tsolwe hill, which is located on south-western edge on the Mapungubwe National park, is associated with Chief Lesiba, (Leshiba, Lishivha). Lesiba was another senior Tshivula chief, who usurped power from Mankadiko (brother to Machete I of Leokwe Hill). In order to control Lesiba, who had become a threat, Field Cornet J.G. Duvenage, took his guns (Huffman, 2014; Archives of the State Secretary, Incoming documents for 1856, 11: 402). A Mamadi Chief, known as Madidimalo, attacked Lesiba and forced him to flee to Tsolwe (Huffman, 2014). The objective of this attack was to restore Mankadiko's chieftainship as they were connected to Madidimalo through intermarriages. Intermarriages promoted heterogeneity in the Limpopo Valley (Huffman, 2014). The death of Machete II marks the decline of the Chieftaincy in the 1930s. The decline was caused by a combination of factors, among them the fact that Mapungubwe was no longer as productive as it was in the 19th century (Khami phase) and the exhaustion of resources due to the large number of Venda capitals in a very short period. Also, the rinderpest epidemic of 1896-98

decimated cattle herds that existed in the area and the advent of firepower with the arrival of Boers in the area were contributing factors (Huffman, 2014). Boer military activities are illustrated through few stonewalls on isolated hilltops on Machete (Huffman, 2014). Ivory trade was used to expand Boer influence in the area and the acquisition of farms also contributed to the decline of the Machete Chieftainship (Huffman, 2014). Boers began to own land in the Limpopo, and a similar process was taking place in the then Rhodesia, now Zimbabwe. After the Boer wars, Europeans become interested in minerals leading to the establishment of mines such as Seta Mine (Trevor & Mellor, 1908).

Contextualizing the narratives of IDCs into the contemporary period of MCLWHS is important. In 2007, IDCs of MCLWHS claimed and reburied about 143 remains originally excavated and housed at the University of Pretoria (Pikirayi, 2016; Nienaber *et al.,* 2008). The systematic research at the site by University of Pretoria from 1933 resulted in a huge archaeological collection, which included human remains. The repatriation of these human remains was led by the Mapungubwe Steering Committee established by the President of South Africa (Nienaber *et al.,* 2008). The Steering Committee included Claimant groups (IDCs), Department of Environmental Affairs, Department of Arts and Culture, SANParks, Limpopo Provincial Government, SAHRA, National Cultural History Museum, University of Pretoria and University of Witwatersrand. The Claimant groups were constituted by the Vhangona Cultural Movement, Lemba Cultural Association and Tshivula Royal Family. These IDCs are currently occupying the north and south sides of the Soutpansberg Mountains, with some far away from the MCLWHS. Despite this composition, the representation and consistency of representatives in the Steering Committee was an issue of concern as participants felt it was not reflecting the stakeholdership of the Mapungubwe descendants (Nienaber *et al.,* 2008). Many involved participants concluded that Venda groups were over represented in the Steering Committee at the expense of other groups (Nienaber *et al.,* 2008). For instance, the San community who are well organised and had expressed their willingness to be involved in the repatriation process, were only invited in the last meeting when everything else was already set for the reburial (Nienaber *et al.,* 2008).

During the reburial exercise, political agendas and interdepartmental rivalries, especially between DEA and DAC surfaced thereby derailing the related processes (Nienaber *et al.,* 2008). It was

therefore difficult to build relationships beyond this process among stakeholders at MCLWHS (Nienaber *et al.,* 2008). Even the funding of the reburial become a burden for the University of Pretoria as claimants could not provide such resources as agreed in the Reburial Policy signed by all concerned Parties (Nienaber *et al.,* 2008). From the beginning, the reburial process was characterised by claims, counter-claims, negotiation and compromise by IDCs (Nienaber *et al.*, 2008: 64). However, the consultative meetings with IDCs established the repatriation protocols, and created a platform to correct past mistakes in the manner human remains were handled, including their interpretation by scholars without involving IDCs (Pikirayi, 2016). The reburial processes promoted ethical dimensions and traditional protocols (Nienaber *et al.,* 2008). The reburial exercise proved that IDCs can "conserve, deploy, and remake the meanings they link to archaeological sites" through their present social conditions and generate futures using these sites (Pikirayi, 2011:120).

The reburial of human remains is a phenomenon associated with many sites worldwide (Pikirayi, 2016; Legassick & Rasool, 2000). Global debates on ethical treatment and respect of human remains by scientists and the need to repatriate these back to their communities was an impetus for South Africa to undertake the reburial project at MCLWHS. However, some scholars called for a negotiated approach on dealing with such sensitive matters (Steyn & Nienaber, 2005). As part of the negotiations, the IDCs demanded that the interpretation of the site should reflect local community histories, as well as research agendas that took that highlight "memory and tradition to counter monolithic, authoritative, dominant, and highly contested narratives about the pasts of these communities" (Pikirayi, 2016: 121). They also called for the deliberately adoption of research agendas that takes into account their own interests (Pikirayi, 2016).

On the negative side, the vaVenda challenged the repatriation process as an approach of SBMS fixated on past human group identities (Pikirayi, 2016). This did not resonate with their diversity and the growing social complexity of the local historical histories of the MCLWHS characterized and driven by residential, non-descent and non-local descent communities of the area (Pikirayi, 2016). The collective voices of the IDCs highlight their expectations and contemporary needs at the site (Pikirayi, 2016). Furthermore, the reburial ceremony was viewed as a strategy of addressing the impact of illegal excavation of human remains in the MCLWHS by academics

(Pikirayi, 2016). The reburial exercise at MCLWHS proved that in the contemporary, the collective voices of the IDCs can "conserve, deploy, and remake the meanings they link to archaeological sites" through highlighting their present social conditions and generate futures using these sites (Pikirayi, 2011:122). Science should take into account the interests and needs of society (Pikirayi, 2016). Heritage management should also empower local communities to engage their past in such a manner that it benefits their present lives (Pearson & Sullivan, 1995). Furthermore, IDCs demanded access into the site for their spirituality, which SANParks still has to formally resolve (Pikirayi, 2016).

The reburial ceremony also came with its own challenges associated with the process and materials used for the funeral rites against what is provided for in the indigenous knowledge management systems of IDCs. The human remains were reburied in non-degradable plastic materials as opposed to traditional materials prescribed by the IDCs. Also, the presence of academics during the exercise defied the traditional protocols shrouding the rituals and practices of such ceremonies in Africa. Only the kin and kith are supposed to be involved in the process. The use of non-degradable plastic materials further reinforced a long suspected but undeclared hope that with passage of time, academics could access the remains for further research using new technologies (Nienaber *et al.*, 2008). Scientific hopes defied the traditional use of degradable materials to allow dust to become dust. This violates the traditional rites of IDCs. While it is common knowledge that funerals bring together people in the community irrespective of their connection with the deceased, it is only the descendants of the deceased that lead the burial processes. The only challenge arising out of this is having academics, who are supposed to observers, controlling the reburial process as if the IDCs are not knowledgeable about their own funeral rites. The top-down approach of scholars in the repatriation exercise and their continued '*archaeologicalization*' of communities requires a mind-set shift in order to redefine the rules of engagement (Pikirayi, 2016: 122).

The question that remains to be answered is, when shall these ancestors be allowed to rest and in the process, how should they be wrestled from the hands, eyes and tools of these academics? However, the interfacing of IDCs with academics during this exercise represented a long overdue dialogue on these sensitive issues, related to the Indigenous Knowledge Systems of IDCs at the site. Once again, the site was re-consecrated as a sacred burial landscape, of which IDCs demanded

unconditional access for these rites on a regular basis in the future. Though it is traditionally genuine to care for your ancestors, it could also be interpreted as a process of legitimizing land claims in the area. The reburial exercise provides an interesting dimension relating to IDCs, which had never been properly documented in local histories until they emerged to stake their claims at the site (Pikirayi, 2011). While this reburial exercise, in some ways authenticated ownership of the land by IDCs, it also demonstrated that no modern community occupies the MCLWHS or can lay claim to an organic association with it (Carruthers, 2006). The thinking that MCLWHS was "spiritually and culturally uncontested landscape" is now a myth due to new information generated by research in the area (Carruthers, 2006: 3). The current counter claims among IDCs who have lodged a number of land restitution claims in the area, is testament to this history of contestations through time at the site.

4.2.2 Academics and MCLWHS

As stakeholders, academics and universities have interacted with MCLWHS from 1933, until the present. The interest of academics has been the advancement of science (scientific values) from time immemorial at the site. Mapungubwe is widely and better known today due to the extensive research undertaken by academics over the centuries. The University of Pretoria began to dominate the research process at the site, and even today, the institution still wields academic authority over the site. This was through an agreement signed between University of Pretoria and Mapungubwe after the site was 'discovered' by Van Graan in 1933 (Apley, 2000). The University took ownership of the site, the research process and related artefacts (Apley, 2000). In addition, and in the early years of the site's discovery, the University of Pretoria, requested the postponement of prospecting or mining and related actives at the site to allow for research (Apley, 2000). This marks the beginning of the academic stand-off against extractive process at the site. This led to the publicizing of the importance of Mapungubwe, which marked the process internationalizing the significance and garnering support for its protection in a period when extractive industries were beginning to emerge at a large scale in the area (Apley, 2000). It is important to note that extractive industries and agriculture were a preoccupation of colonial administrations in Africa.

Other universities and scholars have also undertaken interdisciplinary researches at the site and in the Greater Mapungubwe area. Among these are University of Cape Town (UCT), University of Witwatersrand (Wits), University of Johannesburg (UJ), University of Botswana (UB), University of Zimbabwe (UZ), University of the North West, UNISA and many other technical colleges focusing on wildlife management, archaeology, heritage management, tourism and hospitality aspects. Universities such as Wits, UCT, and University of Venda (UNIVEN) have intensified research programmes in the area over the last decade. While UZ and UB have been undertaking research in their respective borders of their nations, they have also collaborated with Universities such as UCT in furthering the research agenda at MCLWHS. The anthropological and oral history researchers are playing an increasing role in developing a holistic, inclusive and decolonized story of MCLWHS (SANParks, 2013; Ndoro, 2008). The stake of academics and universities at MCLWHS is knowledge production and supporting conservation at the site.

The academics/academic institutions have a contradictory relationship with the land uses of the site from many viewpoints. From a positive side, and firstly, academics have benefitted from the researches at the site since 1933, with some of them carving careers and high level academic qualifications from the site. Second, the site has become an academic laboratory for interdisciplinary research furthering the understanding of the past in the area. This benefits various academics, social scientists, public and community organizations. Third, and quite an interesting aspect is that this academic research has benefitted in part from the funding that has come from the Environmental Impact Assessments, Heritage Impact Assessments and researches commissioned by land users as part of compliance with heritage regulatory frameworks of the area. For instance, De Beers and Coal of Africa have funded conservation projects as part of mitigating impacts of the extractive processes, of which the management Authorities would not have been able to fund them at such levels.

However, and contrary to the above personal, professional and practice growth, most of these academics are the ones that are at the fore front of anti-development campaigns in the area. They do this through Professional Associations and lobbying through available legal channels (CALS, 2016). They derive their power from the Environmental Impact Assessments and Heritage Impact Assessments researches partially funded by land users or developers such as extractive industries.

With the exception of the few, who holistically look at the bigger picture in relation to the socio-economic conditions of the locality of development, the rest usually offer hard-line positions without room for interrogating alternative strategies favouring both conservation and socio-economic development for the benefit of society. Some of them even provide inconclusive reports on the impact of the mining on the OUV based on ICOMOS Guidelines like what happened when Coal of Africa was granted permit for coal extraction. This prompted a second Heritage Impact Assessment to be conducted by another group of professionals. It would appear that, as role player at MCLWHS, academics are a double-edged sword as they benefit on the one hand and on the other, they influence decisions that are anti-development or that make development implementation difficult. These are areas that require further research in order to understand how academics have become beneficiaries in many dimensions of their careers but are oblivious to the socio-economic needs of communities, who are generators of the knowledge. Academics are often seen as obstacles to the growing needs of stakeholders at heritage sites, by the conservation approach. Also, the fact that academics are themselves a stakeholder group is often not considered in research.

4.2.3 Farmers and MCLWHS

While the advent of colonialism was a common phenomenon on the African continent, this manifested as apartheid in South Africa under the Dutch. Prior to the arrival of the Dutch, the British had invaded South Africa in a wave that eventually spread to Zimbabwe, Malawi and Zambia. The Dutch colonial frontier did not spare the Limpopo area, and this opened up the area to frontiersmen for leisure hunting, mining and farming (Carruthers, 2006: 6; Berry & Cadman, 2012). The colonial frontier also ushered European hunters (among them Fredrick Courtney Selous, Henry Cotton Oswell and Roualeyn Gordon Cumming) in the Limpopo area around the mid-1800s (Berry & Cadman, 2012). The Buys people arrived from Eastern Cape, followed by the Voortrekkers in the late 1830s' (Carruthers, 2006). The Anglo-Boer war (1899-1902) marked the establishment of land settlement schemes in the Limpopo area (Carruthers, 2006:6). It is the only recorded war to have taken place in this area (Berry & Cadman, 2012).

The extension of the railway line to Musina and the "burgeoning copper industry" in the area, dating back to the pre-colonial times, brought development to the area (Carruthers, 2006: 6). However, the drought and depression of the 1930s halted this development (Carruthers, 2006). It is argued that by the end of the World War 1, the government of South Africa was advocating that every available farm be settled and the farmers be given support for crop or animal husbandry (Berry & Cadman, 2012). This also included 'speculator' farmers who had the practice of moving cattle onto the land for fattening before selling them off them to buyers (Berry & Cadman, 2012). However, the carrying capacity of the land, including its suitability for such farming options, had not been assessed (Berry & Cadman, 2012). Some cheap land was also given to about 40 employees of the Messina Copper Mine as an incentive to keep them working at the mine (Berry & Cadman, 2012). From this, it is clear that the land use of Mapungubwe was beginning to change. Also, ownership of the land changed hands with the incoming Boers becoming landlords while IDCs were pushed to marginal areas now known as Venda.

Of particular interest during contemporary times, is how in the last century commercial farming has become more pronounced in the area, with extensive irrigation agriculture taking place in Mapungubwe. Since the 1950s, citrus, tomatoes, oranges and other crops have been produced, including the rearing of cattle alongside wildlife management (Carruthers, 2006). According to the land use audit of 2013, farming covers the following hectares; natural grazing (2 751 hectares), citrus (715 hectares), maize (523 hectares), tomato (351 hectares), cotton (46 hectares), while 1 286 hectares are fallow (DEA, 2013). Cattle ranching become more intensified in the 1970s' but was gradually replaced by game ranching in the last few decades (DEA, 2014b). Accompanying the development of agriculture in the Mapungubwe is supportive infrastructure such as farm houses, farm buildings, various irrigation installations and accommodation for labourers. Agriculture contributes to the economy of the greater Musina Local Municipality (DEA, 2014a).

4.2.4 Private Sector Players and Corporate Social Responsibility at MCLWHS

The post inscription period of MCLWHS has witnessed other private players coming through public-private partnership or Social Corporate Responsibility approaches to support SANParks in raising educational awareness on the significance of the landscape. One such an example was the

Memorandum of Agreement (MoA) signed between SANParks and with Pick 'n Pa, in 2004. The latter is a large chain supermarket with multiple outlets in South Africa (DEA, 2014). Through this MoA, SANParks and PicknPay jointly implemented the Kids in the Parks (KiP) programme. This was supported by DEA and the Department of Education. The KiP programme was designed to introduce 5000 children (Grades 5-7) and 50 Teachers from previously disadvantaged communities to importance of national parks. For these educational tours, Pick 'n Pay provided a bus and other goodies, while SANParks offered accommodation and facilities for the programme at MCLWHS. During the tour, children and teachers were exposed to environmental education and the cultural significance of MNP. This programme surpassed its target and actually catered for 7069 children and 430 teachers. This programme creatively imparted writing, observation and experiential skills to learners. It also strengthened schools based environmental management practices, conservation ethics in local communities, environmental educational policies, and efforts in preserving and sustaining heritage in its diversity (DEA, 2014). This partnership shows how the private sector can invest in raising awareness on heritage through their social corporate responsibility framework, an element that has been slow to implement at most heritage sites. For private sector, all they need is to be guaranteed mileage in terms of publicity, which then translate into their market share or becoming the brand of choice by public. The only element of the KiP programme which was not well considered was the budget for follow-up with the schools which forms a valuable part of the sustainability of the programme (DEA, 2014).

4.2.5 Land Restitution, Judiciary Players and MCLWHS

South Africa, just like many other affected African countries, is not an exception to land restitution processes in the post-colonial period. Land is a resource for socio-economic development, well-being of society and a facilitator of nation building (RDLR, 2017). The stakeholders in this process include lawyers, land commissioners, magistrates, community advocacy officers, provincial and district officers, Non-Governmental Organisations representing community aspirations, Office of the Chief Surveyor, Department of Mineral Resources and Community Property Associations as well as the claimants themselves such as the IDCs of MCLWHS. The majority of these stakeholders presented in this section are validators, current custodians and facilitators of dialogue and research relating to land claims. They deal directly with the claimants.

Land claims lodged by IDCs at MCLWHS are supported by the Restitution of Land Rights Act of 1994 and its judiciary mechanisms closer to heritage sites in Africa. The Act provides for different resolution options for restitution claims. MCLWHS has not been spared from land claims. As such, DEA and Lands Affairs have signed a MoA that provides a framework for dealing with land claims in Protected Areas. As of January 2008, 74 698 claims out of 79 696 had been settled in South Africa (DEA, 2008). As of 2008, and in the context of all Protected Areas in South Africa, Limpopo Province, had 26 claims compared to Mpumalanga with 30 (refer to Figure 4.1). The land claims by could be seen as a process of 'taking back' IDCs into their areas where they once displaced from. This process affects the current owners of the land in question (i.e. farmers, hoteliers, mining companies etc.). Land restitution has witnessed protracted negotiations between current land owners and claimants as facilitated by legal systems designed for this processes.

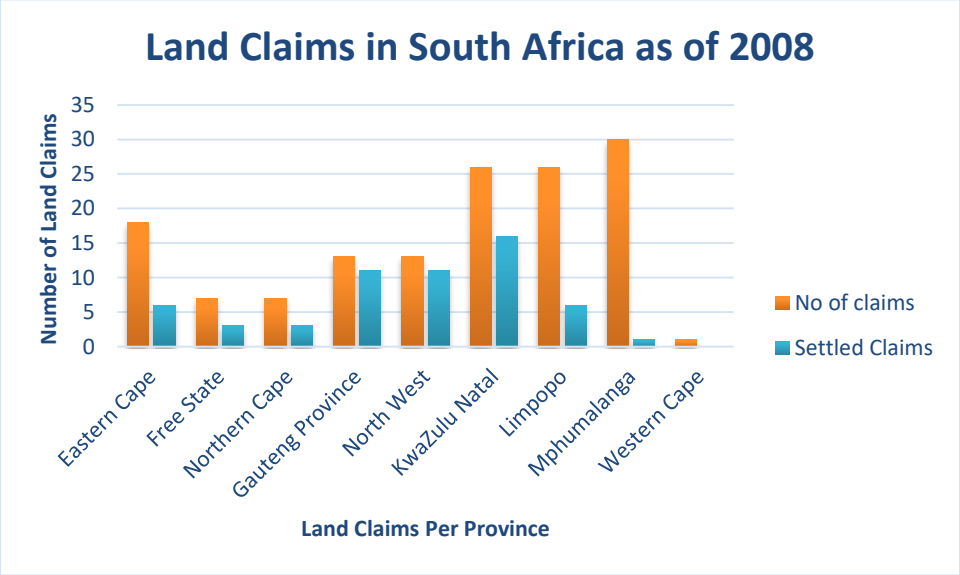


Figure 4.1: Number of lodged and settled land Claims in Protected Areas of South Africa (Source of statistics, DEA)

The Limpopo Land Claims Commission is the driver of this restitution process in the Mapungubwe Area. Land restitution has resulted in tensions and accusations among the players involved at the site. For example, in 2013, the Leshiba and Machete families accused the Department of Mineral Resources (DMR) of issuing exploration licences to mining companies on land they had laid

claims without their consent. In response, both DMR and Department of Rural Development and Land Restitution (DRDLR), disputed this interpretation by the two communities (IOL, 2013). They argued that the Law does not prohibit the granting of a right over land where there is a claim (IOL, 2013). They further explained that it is Mining companies, in this case Vele Colliery, are supposed to consult communities in the process (IOL, 2013).

From another perspective, the land claims pose another challenge in that, once a decision to award the land back to the concerned claimant, (IDCs, in this case of MCLWHS), internal fights regarding ownership and use of the land becomes rife among them as beneficiaries. This has been witnessed in the case of Machete and Tshivuli families. Internal disagreements confirm contestations within IDCs which defeats their united front they always portray in the land claiming process. In addition, actually resettling IDCs in their former areas is an involving and costly process with unintended consequences, such as change of ownership and compensation for person handing over the land. Furthermore, land restitution is a legal process involving detailed research to validate claims, ensuring transparency from a legal perspective and determining the cash compensation for the IDCs where moving back into the area is impossible.

4.2.6 GMTFCA stakeholders and MCLWHS

The GMTFCA covers a complex mosaic of communal areas, national parks, and private conservancies in Botswana, South Africa and Zimbabwe (Berry & Cadman, 2012). This brings in multiple stakeholders to the fore. The table (4.1) summarises the areas and players included in the GMTFCA.

State Party	Botswana	South Africa	Zimbabwe
Properties included	1. Safari 1 MS 2. Loensa La Moridi 2 –MS Remainder of Ptn 1 3. Loensa La Moridi 2 – MS Ptn 3 4. Loensa La Moridi 2 –MS Remainder 5. Fairfield 42 MR 6. Helena 41 MR 7. Tiganie 43 MR 8. Riven Hill 44 MR 9. Uitspan 3- MS 10. Merry Hill 4 MS 11. Glennel 5 MS 12. Charter Reserve 6 MS 13. Oerwoud 40MR	1. Rhodesdrift 22 MS 2. Welton 16 MS 3. Tuscanen 17 MS Portion 3 4. Den Staat 27 MS Remainder 5. Greefswald 37 MS 6. Riedel 48 MS 7. Balerno 18 MS Remainder 8. Little Muck 26 MS 9. Armenia 20 MS 10. Mona 19 MS 11. Venetia Limpopo Nature 12. Little Muck Nature Reserve 13. Farm Janberry 14. Mapungubwe National Park and World heritage site	1. Tuli Circle Safari Area 2. Maramani Communal Lands 3. Machuchuta Communal Lands 4. Sentinel Ranch 5. Nottingham Estate 6. River Ranch 7. Halisupi 8. Hwali 9. Doddieburn

Table 4.1: Identification of stakeholders involved with GMTFCA *(source: DEA 2010)*

These multiple stakeholders have different uses of the land among them, farming, conservation, tourism, mining and public facilities especially in communal areas. Socio-economic development

is a major issue in the area and tourism underpins the rational for the GMTFCA. People and wildlife conflicts are some of the major issues in the area.

4.2.7 Military activities and MCLWHS

The struggle for freedom in South African begun with wars of resistance against colonial domination by traditional chiefs, followed by a well-coordinated a national struggle against apartheid (Kros, 2007). The latter was underpinned by the formation of national movements such as Pan African Congress, Black Consciousness Movement, African National Congress, among many others (Delius & Cope 2007; LHR Business Plan, 2012). The creation of the Union of South Africa in 1910 heralded the process of excluding blacks from governance creating what was later to be known as apartheid. The majority (black people) became the minority in their own mother country. Apartheid era (1948 - 1994) witnessed gross human rights violations against blacks throughout South Africa and the UN eventually declared apartheid as a crime against humanity (NHC Business Plan 2011). In the above context, and during the 1970-1980s, the apartheid government of South Africa used the Mapungubwe area as a defence line against terrorists destabilising the country from Rhodesia, now Zimbabwe (Carruthers, 2006). Kruger National Park was used in a similar way to create a security buffer by the Apartheid regime in order to reduce guerrilla movements to and from Mozambique. But sometimes the military use of Protected Areas would be rejected by the Army, as was the case with the Rustenburg Game Reserve which had been deproclaimed in 1909 as a Protected Area. The proposal to use this reserve for military reasons had actually came from Hall Martin, Chief Research Officer of the National Parks Board (Berry & Cadman, 2012). The use of Mapungubwe by the Army meant that the area was heavily controlled and became inaccessible to many members of the local communities who were forced to use formal entry points such as Musina and Ponte Drift Border Posts. The confluence area of the Mapungubwe Area, continues to play a role in maintaining security and enforcing patrols to mitigate illegal cross border activities to and from South Africa. The presence of military personnel and base stations could also be viewed as another extra layer of security in Protected Areas, thereby combating illegal extraction of resources from such areas. Border controls remain critical to controlling the hegemony of any new independent state and South Africa is no exception. As such

army or military personnel, including any other agency of the security clusters are currently deployed to the area are also stakeholders of MCLWHS.

4.2.8 MCLWHS and Tourists

Tourism activities at MCLWHS is linked to the cultural and natural values of the landscape which attracts domestic, regional and international visitors. These visitors constitute stakeholders with an interest in tourism at MCLWHS. Some are repeat visitors to the site, especially domestic ones. The international status of MCLWHS encourages tourism, and prompts national pride and social cohesion (Marschall, 2005). As a touristic destination, the site elevates the profile of Limpopo Province (Carruthers, 2006). Programmes such as the Mapungubwe Tourism Initiative and an annual Mapungubwe Arts Festival, have become cornerstones of tourism experience (Carruthers, 2006). The Culture week introduced by SANParks adds a flare to this approach attracting ordinary South Africans to the site every year for free. This has been diversified now to include the Mapungubwe Annual Lecture Series. The Inaugural Programme in 2018 had threefold objectives; a seminar initiating discussion between IDCs and Scientists on the process of decolonizing knowledge, interpretation and presentation of MCLWHS; cultural performances to celebrate the Mapungubwe Kingdom as an African achievement with tentacles extending into Botswana and Zimbabwe and the Inaugural Mapungubwe Lecture Series (Chirikure *et al.,* 2017). The intended outcome and impact of the Mapungubwe Lecture Series is to ensure that visitor experiences are locally grounded and exposed to the broader and untold historical significance of the site (Chirikure *et al.,*2017).

Visitorship trend for MCLWHS shows a gradual increase over the years (SANParks, 2010; 2012). Tourists visit the site for multiple reasons among them to explore a new destination, to relax, for family recreation and educational reasons (Van der Merwe *et al.,* 2009; Herman, 2013b). The limitations of MCLWHS as touristic destination include but are not limited to its remoteness on northern edge of South Africa, absence of public transport between the site and Musina town, absence of substantial interpretation of cultural values, shops and alternative restaurants, harsh weather conditions (very hot) and threat of malaria (Norton, 2000; SiVEST, 2002; DEAT. 2002). In addition, the MCLWHS has the lowest average occupancy rate of 25% compared to other

National Parks in South Africa (SANParks, 2010a). These internal and external factors may threaten the future and sustainability of tourism at MCLWHS (Herman, 2013b). It is also argued that the adaptive management strategy of SANParks does not address the relationship between tourism, world heritage issues, mining, TFCA and private ownership of land in MCLWHS in its four-tier status (Herman, 2013).

Research on visitor profiles of the site shows that these cut across all age groups and different source markets (Herman, 2013). These specifically include young people, middle class groups, elderly people, learners, foreigners and people with disabilities to a certain extent. In terms what attracts or motivates visitors at MCLWHS, heritage attributes are scoring the third highest mean of 3.47 out of 5 attributes (Herman, 2013). The other top four motivators are: park attributes (3.15), escape attributes (3.64) and natural attributes with a rating of 3.87 (Herman, 2013:943). From a heritage perspective, visitors are interested in learning about culture, history and experience what a World Heritage site is all about (Herman, 2013). The increasing number of visitors to MNP "generates market growth for the park" as a tourist destination (Herman, 2013: 943). In the overall, tourism activities include bird watching, heritage tours, game drives, eco trails, confluence look out, guided and hiking trails and mountain biking.

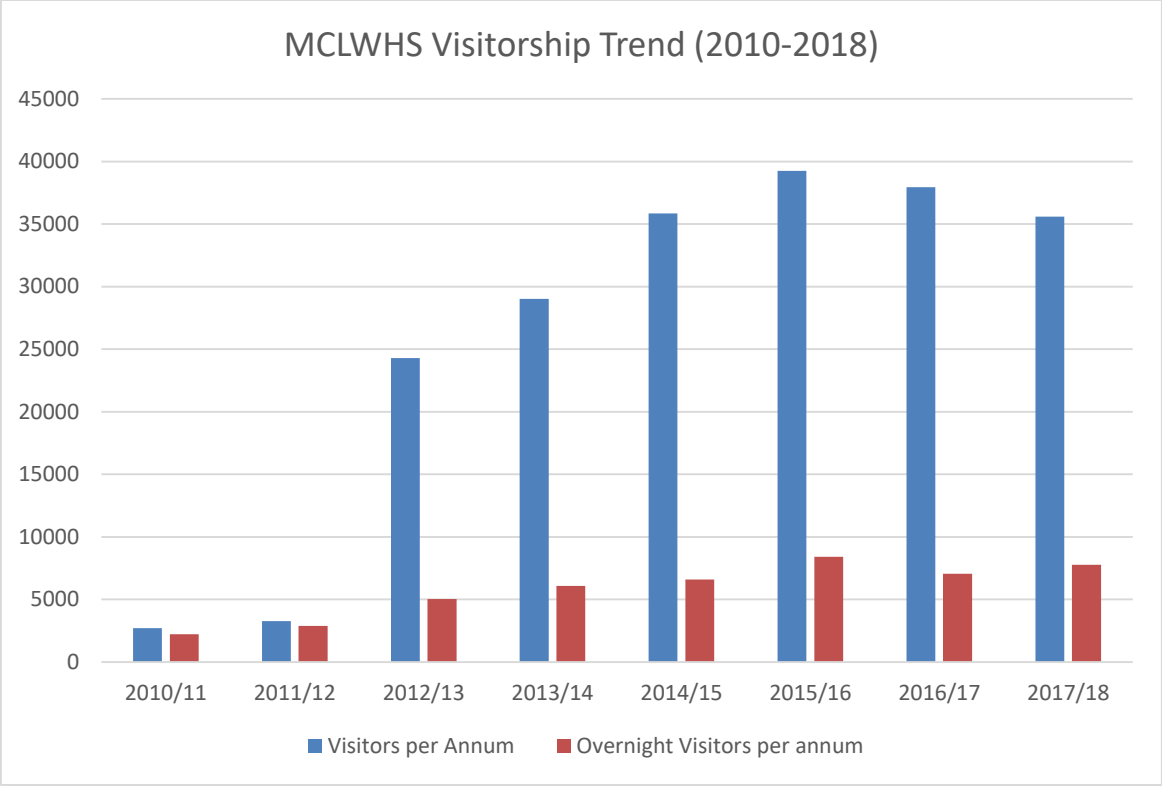


Figure 4.2: Visitorship trends at MCLWHS (Source: MCLWHS 2018)

In order to support the growing tourism, MCLWHS provides accommodation and interpretive facilities inside the park. Accommodation facilities include the Tshugulu Lodge, Leokwe Rest, Vhembe Bush, Mazhou, and the Limpopo Forest Tent Camps. The interpretation centre won the "World Building of the Year" during the World Architectural Awards. Roads connecting the main gate and areas of interest in the MNP have been developed and continue to be maintained to avoid erosion resulting from continued use by tourists. Private sector also plays a major role in providing accommodation and restaurants for tourists. These accommodation facilities included Dongola ranch, Kaoxa bush camp, Chinaka Bodge, Mopane bush Lodge, Iphofolo Lodge and many others.

4.2.9 Extractive Industries and MCLWHS

Issues relating to the incompatibility of resources utilization and conservation have dominated heritage discourse on the continent for a long time (Meskell, 2011). MCLWHS is such one place where mining has been in existence from the past, and continues to be a present day economic

activity (Plate 2.1). MCLWHS is located in an area which is very rich in minerals (CALS, 2016). Apart from introduction of commercial agriculture in the Limpopo area, De Beers established the Venetia Diamond Mine and begun to operate inside the 26 000 hectare Venetia Limpopo Nature Reserve in the early 1990s. Another mining company, Coal of Africa, granted a licence in 2010, was expected to extract an estimated 441 million tonnes of coal from a site located south of MCLWHS for the next 29 years (DEA, 2014b). Stakeholders associated with this activity include but not limited to geologists, explorers, mining companies, workers' union, employees, government departments and individuals interested in exploitation of mineral resources in the area.

The granting of a licence to Coal of Africa Limited (CoAL) for the extraction of coal at Mapungubwe in 2010 is an example of how different stakeholders respond to developmental priorities at World Heritage sites. The open cast mining methodology at the Vele Colliery attracted the attention of multiple stakeholders among them UNESCO, heritage experts, professional associations, environmental institutions, IDCs and public at large. At the receiving end of these varied responses was the developers themselves and government departments responsible for monitoring compliance with relevant laws. These include DEA, Department if Mineral Resources, Department of Water Affairs and South African Heritage Resources Agency. Underlying this interaction among stakeholders was the understanding that MCLWHS "may have one mining stain on its veneer but its spiritual and natural specialness runs much deeper than that" (CALS, 2016:13). Despite this, it is evident that mining contributes to the economy of the greater Musina Local Municipality with coal and diamonds dominating the typology of extracted resources (DEA, 2014). Mining potential remains higher in the Mapungubwe area due to the existence of rich mineral deposits (DEA, 2014). For instance, Riedel farm in the East was not included in the MCLWHS as there is potential to yield high profits from mining (DEA, 2014). Coalfields of Mapungubwe also contain methane gas, which is not yet being exploited (DEA, 2014).

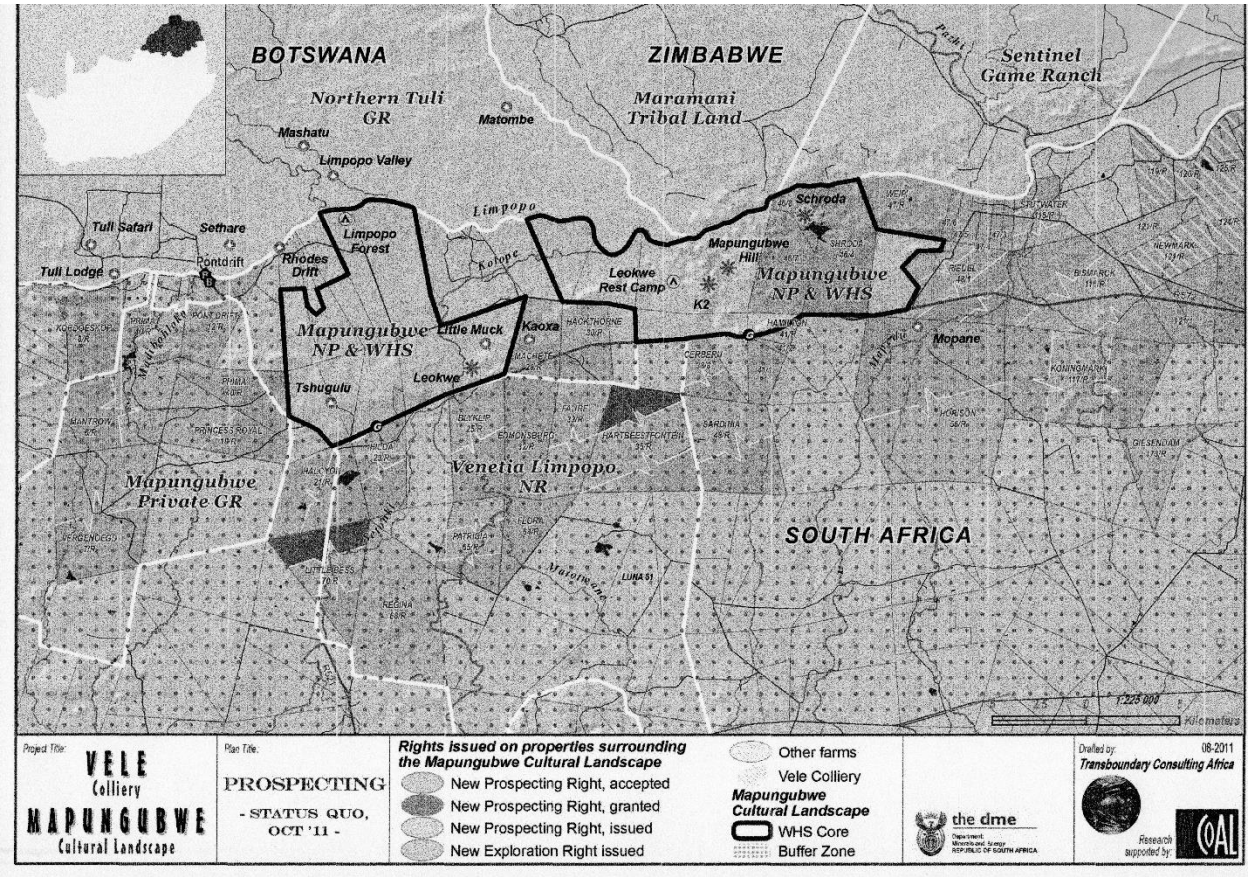


Plate 4.1: Mining Exploration and MCLWHS (source: Siyathembana, 2011)

However, mining related stakeholders at MCLWHS can be traced back to the history of the landscape which has ample of evidence of such activities stretching from the pre-colonial to the present (refer to chapter 3). What has changed is the magnitude and scale of extractive industries in the area, a process which intensified in the colonial and post-colonial period. Archaeology communities extracted minerals at Mapungubwe, a process which continued with IDCs, and was commercialized by colonial authorities as the scramble for Africa was incentivized by existence of minerals. The British South Africa Company, led by John Cecil Rhodes, explored and extracted minerals across much of the Southern Africa region. During the pre-colonial era, TMS would have played a major role in monitoring the exploitation of resources by society. Compliance with environmental monitoring laws was somehow weak in the colonial era, and only become intensified in the latter years of colonialism and in the post-colonial era. In the colonial period, Mines and Minerals legislation was given power over all other legislations, a situation that has

prevailed in post-colonial Africa. Monitoring of such extractives has become an intense process world-wide, including the emergence of green corps, among many others.

Extractive industries placed in the context of the MCLWHS in the present times have attracted the following stakeholders:

- **Environmental Justice/Legal Stakeholders**

The Centre for Applied Legal Studies (CALS) at the University of Witwatersrand (Wits), applied various legal and social interventions to bring their concerns regarding the extraction of Coal in Mapungubwe as an environmental justice issue (CALS, 2016). Environmental justice is concerned with implementing social justice in relation to the environment (CALS, 2016: 45). Social justice processes demand that "affected communities equally participate in the decision making process regarding impacts of development on their lived environment" (CALS, 2016:45; Stacey 1999). The main outcome of social justice processes is supposed to be "equitable sharing of benefits and burdens of development" (CALS, 2016:45). Social justice respects, protect, promotes and fulfil human rights of affected societies. In this process, State Parties should be the "primary bearer and protector of the rights of individuals" as international laws do not "bind corporations" yet they have "influence over people's lives", (CALS, 2016: 46). Mechanisms of accountability need to be supported by effective governance systems (CALS, 2016).

In relation to MCLWHS, CALS argued that while Section 24 of the South African Constitution gives rights to the environment, it should be acknowledged that human rights to an environment are "not harmful to health and well-being" (CALS, 2016:45). In this context, CALS argued that environmental degradation through CoAL operations posed threats to water, food security and livelihoods and this was going to deprive people of their rights to have a non-harmful environment (CALS, 2016). In order to retain the rights of the communities, CALS employed litigation, negotiations and collaborative compliance monitoring against CoAL (CALS, 2016). This included interrogating the corporate governance of MCLWHS and the GMTFCA. As part of the strategy, a Community Engagement Policy (CEP) defined the

principles and engagement rules with local communities to ensure mining respected heritage in totality (CALS, 2016).

- **From Mapungubwe Action Group to Save Mapungubwe Coalition**

Resulting from the ECP, the Mapungubwe Action Group (MAG) was formed and compromised of farmers, IDCs and private conservancies and lodger owners. The objectives of MAG were three fold:(i) protect the integrity of MCLWHS, (ii) ensure that development benefits inhabitants, interested and affected parties of MCLWHS and GMTFCA, and (iii) promote ecologically sustainable development in the area (CALS, 2016). Emerging from the MAG, the "Save Mapungubwe Coalition" (SMC) was subsequently formed. SMC was supported by professional associations among them ASAPA, Birdlife South Africa, Wilderness Foundation South Africa, World Wide Fund for Nature South Africa and Peace Parks Foundation (CALS, 2016: 27-28). The SMC became a localised platform for sharing knowledge and expertise, pooling of limited resources and combining different forms of legal expertise in the environmental sector (CALS, 2016:27).

SMC member organization	Area of expertise and influence
Association of Southern African Professional Archaeologists (ASAPA)	• Upholding integrity and ethics of professionals • Heritage impact assessments • Significance assessment • Research into critical heritage thematic areas • Lead discussions with DEA on buffer zone modifications
Birdlife South Africa (BL)	• Conservation of birds in South Africa • Protect important and threatened bird areas • Facilitate stakeholder collaboration in conservation projects
Wilderness Foundation South Africa (WF)	• Protect and sustain African wilderness and wildlands • Educational programmes on biodiversity
World Wide Fund for Nature South Africa (WWFNSA)	• Inspire South Africans to live in harmony with nature • Protect the integrity of natural ecosystems as sources of sustainable livelihoods • Protect water systems under threat from developments

Peace Parks Foundation (PPF)	• Establish Transfrontier conservation areas (TFCAs) in South Africa, Mozambique, Swaziland and Zimbabwe • Facilitate funding for the establishment of TFCAs
Endangered Wildlife Trust (EWT)	• Protect the integrity of threatened species and ecosystems • Align ecosystems to broader social and economic imperatives • Multi-stakeholder governance

Table 4.2: Roles and Responsibilities of "Save Mapungubwe Coalition" (SMC) Members (Source: CALS, 2016).

- **Decision Makers and Extractive Industries at MCLWHS**

CALS (2016) identifies decision makers of MCLWHS as UNESCO, DEA, DAC, DWA, DMR, LEDET, SAHRA, SANParks, PHRAs, Vhembe and Capricorn District Municipalities. All these decision makers, except for UNESCO, are backed by South Africa legislation. CALS (2016) points out the different stances taken by DEA, DMR, and DWA on the matter relating to coal mining. DEA viewed the mining operation as a threat to the Protected Area as a whole, while DWA had a softer approach (CALS, 2016). The issuing of a mining licence to CoAL by DMR, was ample evidence of an unbalanced approach to sustainable development in the Mapungubwe area by government decision makers (CALS, 2016). For DMR, it is difficult to push an environmental agenda and at the same time support national development targets by permitting mineral extraction. CALS (2016) aptly summarises the inability of DAC to enforce her mandate given financial limitations and the remote control approach on cultural heritage through a Western Cape-based agency, SAHRA. At Provincial level, CALS (2016) notes that LEDET has the difficult responsibility of balancing economic development, environment and tourism in the greater Limpopo area. The same applies to District and Local Municipalities, in which MCLWHS falls under. This paints a picture of national and provincial State players fighting for their own specific mandates but accountable to the same government. What is different is the political backing of these structures as South Africa is even polarised in parliament due to existence of a considerable number of opposition parties.

- **ASAPA and Extractive Industries at MCLWHS**

The Association for Southern African Professional Archaeologists (ASAPA) is a professional association of heritage and related experts for Southern Africa, whose main objective is to promote research and conservation, as well as uphold ethics and professionalism among its members. ASAPA has always played a very crucial watchdog role in monitoring developments at heritage sites in Southern Africa. In the case of MCLWHS, and as part of the MAG and the coalitions, SMC and ASAPA provided technical advice on cultural heritage matters. They consistently raised flags against the coal extraction, including undertaking litigation measures against the mining company and DEA (CALS, 2016). While this is the case, the heritage values of MCLWHS put forward by ASAPA were still embedded in the archaeological and World Heritage framework of the site without in depth reference to the values ascribed to the site by IDCs who are supposed to benefit from this environmental justice approach (CALS, 2016). This paints a picture that decolonization of heritage is just a process justified for academic reasons without it practically benefiting the broader public as strategic tool for negotiation beyond the realms of science. IDCs are knowledge producers of what defines the cumulative significance of MCLWHS from the past to the present. They are no longer subjects of research as their heritage resides in the spirituality of their cultures, which can only be accessed through them (Chirikure *et al.*, 2017). The history of IDCS should have been profiled as part of framing how environmental justice would benefit them as opposed to their history being used to justify the need to uphold conservation only. It is therefore evident that institutions, professional associations and academics have retained the monopoly of representing the IDCs, who in this case happens to be the owners of the spirituality under threat from mining. In most cases, IDCs have no financial backing to push their own interests. The question that remains begging for an answer is who represents IDCs in professional associations meetings deciding matters of conservation and socio-economic development?

4.2.10 South African World Heritage Convention Committee, Politicians and MCLWHS

The South African World Heritage Convention Committee (SAWHCC), established by DEA, plays a critical role in the monitoring of conservation and socio-economic developments at MCLWHS. Though the Committee is supposed to-driven by good practices and ‘experts’, its

function cannot be delinked from politicians as it advises the Minister (DEA) on World Heritage matters. In relation to extractive industries at MCLWHS, the SAWHCC was kept abreast on the developments through technical briefings by the World Heritage Unit (DEA) and SANParks. Having considered all the submitted documents on the coal extraction project, SAWHCC recommended the development of regulations or guidelines to avoid similar situations in the future (DEA, 2013). It also recommended the elevation of this matter to the Presidency in view of the status of MCLWHS (DEA, 2013). SAWHCC further recommended that DEA develops an Environmental Management Framework to mitigate impacts of the mining, including endorsing the offset negotiations with Coal of Africa (DEA 2010). It is in this context, that the Minister (DEA) escalated the issue to the Cabinet through a detailed memorandum. The memorandum noted that the mining development could lead to the placement of the MCLWHS on the "List of World Heritage in danger" (DEA, 2011:1). The Minister further argued that this could impact negatively on the country's future efforts to inscribing additional sites on the prestigious "World Heritage List" and would also negatively impact on regional integration in the context of the GMTFCA (DEA, 2011b: 1). The memorandum also acknowledged the political nature of this matter given that many departments were affected by this development and they had varied positions on the matter, hence the need for cabinet to apply its mind towards obtaining a collective position representing the State Party (DEA, 2011). The collective position was needed to buttress the desire of DEA to defend the interests of South Africa regarding mining and conservation, which they wanted to be implemented in a balanced manner at MCLWHS (DEA, 2011). Contrary to this, DMR was issuing more prospecting or exploration licenses in the area without consulting DEA and against the spirit embodied in a moratorium announced by DEA on such activities at the MCLWHS. This demonstrated the difficulties and contradictions among government departments on the matter at the site.

While the Ministers dialogue was gradually taking shape in the Cabinet, the Parliament of South Africa demanded answers from DEA in view of the successive World Heritage Committee decisions on the matter (DEA, 2011). In response, DEA indicated to Parliament that SANParks and the mining company were implementing the recommendations made by the World Heritage Committee in preparation for further reporting to the UNESCO in 2012 (DEA, 2011: ICOMOS, 2011). Regarding public consultations, DEA confirmed to Parliament that all relevant documents

were made public via the website except for the Reactive Monitoring Mission reports which were available to the public on request (DEA, 2011b). Making documents available on request, is against the notion of transparency in public sector. Such information should be made available for the public as part of consultation and engagement. Transparency and access to information is critical ingredient for good governance in any set, and it would heritage institutions are still entrenched in the opposite, unless it's a court order instructing them to do so.

4.3 Emerging Stakeholders at MCLWHS

The driver of the different stakeholders at MCLWHS has always been the use, exploitation and maximization of renewable and non-renewable resources in the area (Carruthers, 2006). This continues in the present times. MCLWHS continues to act as an economic and cultural magnet for multiple stakeholders (Carruthers, 2006). While the voices of IDCs dominated in the pre-colonial period, SBMS got an upper hand in the colonial period, which they have somehow maintained in the post-colonial phase of South Africa, and in Africa at large. However, there has been a slight shift at MCLWHS in this area as a Park Forum is now in place, but empirical evidence lacks as to how this shift allows transparency, open and reciprocated relations among different stakeholders. For instance, IDCs and given their current locations about 200 km from the site is not helping their cause in these Forums as participation comes at cost and loss of livelihoods given the time it takes them to travel and be involved in the meetings.

Even what started as Mapungubwe Action Group, which included IDCs, gradually transformed itself into a coalition of professional associations fighting against the extraction of coal at MCLWHS. This demonstrates how IDCs are often used as an entry point during heritage activism against development but they are quickly side-lined by professionals in the process as agendas shift. While, Save Mapungubwe Coalition member organizations acknowledged the centrality of IDCs, they did not even explain their role and value in the coalition matrix. Is this a case where names of IDCs are dropped to justify legal processes or environmental justice litigation? If environmental justice is meant to protect the rights of the people, whose rights were being protected given that the IDCs are now living more than 200 km from the site and are not involved at the battle front? Neither are they benefiting at the exploitation of resources at the site. It is

evident that scientists and experts still consider themselves the mouth piece of IDCs yet these have their own voices, views and approaches which have to be considered in order to realise their aspirations. From the above, it appears that the voices of IDCs remain muffled and obscured by those with power and resources at MCLWHS. At another level, it would appear that most of the stakeholders continue to be marginalised in the area through use of Park Forums, Parks and People programmes and other consultative processes. This needs to be assessed using empirical evidence in at MCLWHS.

At World Heritage Committee level, all these stakeholders continue to be represented by the State Party, through DEA, with no opportunity of being funded for the same. If they wish to participate, they have to provide own resources and register for attendance as observers with limited opportunities of participating in the main discussions, unless they do it through a third party with such rights at the meeting. From this brief analysis, it is important that World Heritage endeavours to undertake to review these matters by conducting empirical studies on the views of stakeholders at sites such as MCLWHS. In the overall, all non-State Actors remain on the periphery of governance at MCLWHS, and are only left with the option of being reactive to issues they discover or are put before them by SANParks.

This study acknowledges the complexity of dealing with different stakeholders, for instance, IDCs who are "unidirectional, relying on a number of oral traditions and material culture" to justify their involvement (Huffman, 1996). However, and based on decolonized narratives emerging now, there is better understanding of IDCs and their connection to the landscape (Ralushai & Gray, 2002; 1977; Pikirayi, 2016). The IDCs are competing with the commercial players public entities, extractive industries, farmers, hoteliers and tour operators to get the attention of the SBMS at MCLWHS (DEA, 2014a). All these stakeholders have varying interests and mandates in the area. This is further complicated by land ownership in the Mapungubwe area, which gives other stakeholders power in the process. Land ownership includes contractual partners, private conservancy owners, land owners, land claimants, private tourism operators, commercial farmers, and mining concessions (DEA, 2013a). The stakeholders identified at MCLWHS reflect a diverse and intertwined role players as summarised below:

Identified stakeholders: from 1994 to present
• Indigenous and descendant communities,
• Commercial farmers
• National and Provincial governments
• Hunters
• Professional Associations
• NGOs
• Tour Operators
• Extractive Industries
• Academics/Universities
• International Communities *UNESCO
• Intestate Parties (Zimbabwe and Botswana)
• Communities in maramani Zimbabwe
• Communities in Botswana etc.

Table 4.3: Emerging Role Players at MCLWHS

4.4 Conclusion

This chapter focused on identifying stakeholders at MCLWHS through a combination of conventional methods, historiography and archival analysis from the pre-colonial period, through to colonial period, post-apartheid period (1994) and up to the present. Most of these stakeholders claim links to Mapungubwe through connections to the deep and recent pasts, be it through descent, colonisation and post-colonial restitution. The emerging stakeholders of MCLWHS include Indigenous and Descendant Communities, farmers, extractive industries, hoteliers, hunters, academics, politicians, learners, lawyers, UNESCO, Advisory Bodies and government departments with varying influences and decision making powers. There are stakeholders with a stake and stakeholders without stake, which determines power relations between the role players. Both categories of stakeholders are interested and affected by conservation and socio-economic developments at MCLWHS. The field research should assist in validating the assertions made on the basis of this stakeholder identification at MCLWHS. From a governance perspective, it appears that stakeholders at MCLWHS are in constant conflicts, with tensions over the ownership,

use and access to resources from historical times to the present. There are claims, counter-claims, intense negotiations, and rivalries among stakeholders, however the SBMS still wield more power in the decision making processes at MCLWHS. These tensions and contradictions characterises stakeholder governance at MCLWHS. These conflicts and contestations are testimonial to the dynamics associated with different interests of stakeholders in a geographic location. This may also point to lack of an effective stakeholder governance framework that capitalizes on the diversity and differences of stakeholders for their own mutual benefit and sustainability at the site. The challenges emerging from the stakeholder analysis at MCLWHS demand that views and opinions of these stakeholders be solicited to validate and enrich discussion around stakeholder-driven conservation and socio-economic development at MCLWHS. This, however requires the development of a methodology suitable for soliciting views and opinions of stakeholders before subjecting them to deeper intellectual reflection. Subsequently, the next chapter provides the Research Theory and Methodology adopted in this research.

5. Chapter 5: Research Framework and Methodology

This chapter presents the framework and methodological approaches to studying stakeholder-driven conservation and socio-economic development processes in World Heritage Sites. Based on the identified multiple stakeholders at MCLWHS, this study adopted the Multiple & Multi-layered Stakeholder Theory (MMST)), largely adapted from Stakeholder Theory (Orij, 2010: Thomas & Preston, 1995). The MMST is used to recognize multiple and multi-layered stakeholders such as those identified at MCLWHS. The multiple and multi-layered stakeholders vary according to legislation, socio-economic contexts, geographic location, bi-lateral, value based approaches and multi/bi-lateral engagements of the State Party. The main premise of the MMST is that, World Heritage decision-making processes are a top-down approach controlled by few of the multiple and multi-layered stakeholders. These few are linked to the broader legislative framework and socio-economic context of the World Heritage site. Such stakeholders are largely State Based. Thus the MMST proposes an integrative and inclusive bottom-up governance framework in dealing with stakeholder-driven conservation and socio-economic developments at MCLWHS. Premised on this theoretical framework, a mixed research methodology was used in collecting and analyzing the views and opinions of stakeholders in this study. The mixed research methodology combined the interrogation of primary sources, specialist seminar, interviews and questionnaires. However, this was premised on a historiographical understanding presented in chapters three and four. It was essential to identify stakeholders before developing tools to solicit their views regarding heritage and socio-economic development at MCLWHS. All these methods were linked and woven together using the applied iterative principles of the Delphi technique to gather and explore stakeholder views associated with the case study. In the overall, qualitative and quantitative data analysis methods were used to solicit and analyze the views and opinions of the multiple and multi-layered stakeholders at MCLWHS.

5.1 Stakeholder Theory

Responding to complex social and environmental challenges requires an effective governance framework that brings together different stakeholders (Louw & Venter, 2013). Effective governance framework is anchored in Stakeholder Management Theory with its two variants

accountability being the "duty to provide and account one is held responsible" and *organizational theory-being* "the relationship between corporation and its stakeholders (Orij, 2010: 870). The theory focuses on organizational management and ethics (Phillips *et al.,* 2003). The theory "integrates the resource-based view, market-based view and socio-political perspectives to address the morals and values of organizational behaviours toward its stakeholders" (YuLong & Hunter, 2015: 250). It is concerned with who has "an input in decision-making" and who "benefits from the outcome of such decisions" (Phillips *et al.,* 2003:4 87). Stakeholders are defined as any person or group who can affect or is affected by the activities or achievements of an organization, including decisions, policies and practices, or goals of the organization (Freeman, 1984; 1994; Bryson, 2004; Duckworth & Moore, 2010). Therefore, effective collaboration among stakeholders brings together different kinds of resources and competencies that may assist in implementing programmes and activities (Phillips *et al.*, 2003; Louw & Venter, 2013). Also, stakeholder participation is essential for sustainable development (YuLong & Hunter, 2015; Jamal & Getz, 1995). However, stakeholder theory has been criticised for assuming that the interests of various stakeholders can be balanced against each other (Blattberg, 2004), and for remaining characterised by hierarchical participation levels (Hunter, 2015; Arnstein, 1969). Overall and theoretically, it is argued that organizations should be "managed for the benefit of all individuals or groups who have a stake in or a claim" in them (Hummels, 1998: 1404). The rights and interests of these individuals or groups must be balanced (Hummels, 1998; Bryson, 2004). As such, stakeholder theory has become indispensable from the strategic management of organizations (Freeman *et al.*, 2001). The term 'stakeholder' has its origins in the 1930s with four key parties being identified "customers, employees, community, and stockholders" (Preston & Sapienza, 1990: 362).

Stakeholders may also be identified as "individuals or groups who depend on the organization to fulfil their own goals" (Johnson, 2002: 206). In this study and as stated before, local communities are considered to be part of this stakeholder configuration. Local communities can be connected to each other through their geographic location, shared interests, values, experiences, politics or traditions (Pikirayi, 2016). The study also, acknowledges that communities are "fluid, continuously replicating and transforming entities which cannot be fossilized in the past (Pikirayi, 2016: 125). In the overall, stakeholders "have interests, rights or ownership in an organization or its activities" and a claim for resources (Hellriegel *et al.,* 1999; Bryson, 2004).

Stakeholder identification is currently based on three key attributes: power, legitimacy and urgency (Sachs & Ruhli, 2011: 38). *Urgency* is a scenario where "stakeholders want their wishes to be fulfilled quickly", while *legitimacy* is where "certain actions fit with the expectations and demands of the other party, manager or stakeholder. In the context of legitimacy, *action* is what is "reasonable within a subsystem" (Orij, 2010: 871). On the other hand, power defines how shareholders control resources critical to the organization (Orij, 2010; Ullmann, 1985). The three attributes constitute the "interests and needs of salient stakeholders" of any institution (Orij, 2010: 871). Eden and Ackerman (1998) argue that stakeholders can only be those who have power to directly affect the organization's future. Usually, organizations involve those that have "power to influence the processes or outcomes of the decision", followed by those with "legitimate authority to enable the execution and urgency to utilise their influence (YuLong & Hunter, 2015: 252). However, Donaldson and Preston (1995) argue that stakeholders need to be involved for different reasons and in different ways. Therefore, firms or corporations should be responsive to the interests of stakeholder demands (Orij, 2010; Roberts, 1992). In terms of Corporate Social Disclosure (CSD), culture is a determinant on how firms communicate performance and governance to outside investors or stakeholders (Gray, 1988; Haely & Palepu, 2011).

Stakeholder participation models are defined by the unilateral (dyadic) and multilateral (network) modes of interaction employed by an organization (Sachs & Ruhli, 2011: 8). The unilateral mode of interaction is interest-guided (Sachs & Ruhli, 2011). In this context, stakeholders interact when either they "see their interest jeopardized or when they intend to identify with other stakeholders", or when this is assumed to be based on a rational behaviour (Sachs & Ruhli, 2011: 39). However, in reality "individuals are not completely rational, and have multiple interests and different identities" (Sachs & Ruhli, 2011: 39). Therefore, stakeholder interactions and identities are important in this mode. Organizational identity is defined as the assumed relationship between a company and its stakeholders (Sachs & Ruhli, 2011: 39). Theoretically, there is always a conflictual and collaborative relationship between the firm and its stakeholders (Sachs & Ruhli, 2011; Butterfield *et al.,* 2004; Freeman, 1984). Both conflictive and collaborative relationships require one to understand the dialogue forms used for interaction or communication (Sachs & Ruhli, 2011). Dialogue form will determine stakeholders influence on business decisions from

inception to implementation and monitoring (Sachs & Ruhli, 2011). For instance, Roundtables comprising of all stakeholders or their representatives is a dialogue form that will result in mutual decisions on business and stakeholder perspective (Sachs & Ruhli, 2011; Freeman, 1984). Reciprocal engagements and mutual understanding of all concerned stakeholders ensures that "decision making authority lies not necessarily exclusively with the company" (Sachs & Ruhli, 2011: 40).

On the other hand, multilateral (network) modes of interaction place emphasis on multi-stakeholder settings (Sachs & Ruhli, 2011). In these settings, firms or institutions are "structurally embedded in networks of relationships with stakeholders, who are also tied to each other within networks" (Sachs & Ruhli, 2011: 40). Theoretically, institutions are the centre of a network as long as they have stakeholder networks, and at the same time they are part of it (Sachs & Ruhli, 2011). Bilateral dialogues are needed to maintain value creation out of relational embeddedness and mutual multi-lateral processes for any institution (Sachs & Ruhli, 2011). In any modern stakeholder model, the management policies and practices have to take into account the multiple stakeholder interests, expectations and needs (Post *et al.,* 2002a). Managing the links with stakeholders proactively or interactively should result in benefits arising out of competitive advantage (Porter & Kramer, 2002; 2006; 2011; Porter & Reinhardt, 2007; Porter & van der Linde, 1995). However, stakeholder theory does not sufficiently show what happens in multi-stakeholder settings (Sachs & Ruhli, 2011). Moving from unilateral to multilateral modes of interaction as the complexity and interconnectivity of business activity grows, has become a trend (Sachs & Ruhli, 2011).

Stakeholder theory defines models for involving stakeholders as normative, instrumental and descriptive (Phillips *et al.,* 2003; YuLong & Hunter, 2015). The normative model is for stakeholders to "whom an organization has a direct moral to attend to their well-being" (Phillips *et al.,* 2003: 489). Their interactions are based on moral guidelines and these are informed by economic and social/philosophical foundations (Porter, 1998). Economic foundations refer to stakeholders that include their social context in the economic conduct of a corporation (Sachs & Ruhli, 2011; Boatright, 1994; Bosse *et al.,* 2009; Donaldson & Preston, 1995; Etzioni, 1998; Goodpaster, 1991; Hendry, 2001; Hill & Jones, 1992). Such stakeholders are acknowledged for

their intrinsic worth of certain stakeholders' interests (YuLong & Hunter, 2015). These are also viewed as primary stakeholders, whose continuing participation is vital to the company (Louw & Venter, 2013) and in the case of heritage sites, these are critical for the sustenance/retaining of the values as custodians of the site (YuLong & Hunter, 2015). In other contexts, these are referred to as critical stakeholders, which a company cannot do without (Hunter, 2015; Taruvinga, 2014).

The Instrumental model is for stakeholders who are involved on the "basis of whether /how much benefit such involvement would bring to the organization's business performance (YuLong & Hunter, 2015: 252). These are sometimes referred to as stakeholders with "strategic dimensions and critical to the survival of an organization" (Sachs & Ruhli, 2011: 37). These stakeholders employ strategies based on their access to resources (Sachs & Ruhli, 2011: 37). They use their resources to influence the firm's behaviour through coalitions with other stakeholders (Sachs & Ruhli, 2011: 37). They have the power (legal or institutional conditions), influence and ability to affect the organizational strategy (Sachs & Ruhli, 2011:37) They are also defined by normative aspects or dimensions such as legitimate or moral claims, risks and contracts (Sachs & Ruhli, 2011:38). These have a contractual relationship with the organization which should result in the achievement of set business goals, increased profitability, growth and sustainability (Wood *et al.*, 1995).

The descriptive model is for stakeholders whose motivations are based on "social capital theory", in particular "how organization views and presents itself to the community to which it belongs to" (YuLong & Hunter, 2015: 253). Individual companies are considered as building blocks of the greater community (YuLong & Hunter, 2015: 253). The motivation in this case is to develop a "functional organizational identity that is conducive to its community environment" (YuLong & Hunter, 2015: 253). This approach identifies relevant stakeholder groups, their claims and concerns and subsequently identifies social initiatives to mitigate them and ensures an organization's corporate mission acknowledges these concerns (YuLong & Hunter, 2015). Descriptive motivation underscores painstaking iterations of contests and negotiations between stakeholders and site managers, or a "constellation of co-operative and competitive interests possessing intrinsic value (Donaldson & Preston, 1995: 66). It also highlights that stakeholders'

well-being rightfully permeates through the organization's thinking and practice (YuLong & Hunter, 2015: 254).

The normative, instrumental and descriptive dimensions are not mutually exclusive but complementary to each other. It is argued that involving all stakeholder groups and engaging "them in active communication, building cooperative, and trusting relationships", and showing "stakeholders that their interests are being fairly handled" results in positive firm outcomes (YuLong & Hunter, 2015: 253). Partnerships between and among stakeholders also exist at different scales and takes different forms, but these are critical in establishing strategic alliances as opposed to acting independently (Louw & Venter, 2013; Berman *et al.,* 1999). The notion of "multi-fiduciary" implies that firms have ethical responsibilities to both shareholders and stakeholders (Goodpaster, 1991). In addition, economic normative is characterised by conflicting values which are defined by "morality of money, of egoism and might is right" (Hendry, 2001:225).

When stakeholders engage, they create a complex web of relationships between and among themselves, taking advantage of their interest groups, rights, powers, objectives, expectations and responsibilities (Louw & Venter, 2013). In order to achieve their desired socio-economic aspirations, it is important for them to develop mutually beneficial relationships and also treat them with dignity and respect using a defined governance framework (Louw & Venter, 2013). A stakeholder governance framework should be compatible with "typical approaches to democracy and social justice, in which interests of the nominally powerless must be given weight" (Bryson, 2004; Lebacqz, 1986; Lewis, 1991; Boyte & Kari, 1996). This should also be linked to local governance systems in order to facilitate local development. Local development refers to sustainable livelihoods traced by indicators such as financial, social, human, physical and natural factors (Louw & Venter, 2013).

To further understand stakeholder interactions, this study links stakeholder theory to the global-local nexus concept (Deegan, 2012; Robertson, 1992). The concept, developed by Robertson (1992) has been applied in several tourism studies focusing on the global-local relationships, as well as between the universal and the particular interactions, thereby presenting the world as a

single place, a process commonly known as globalization (Deegan, 2012). Globalization "refers both to the compression of the world and the intensification of consciousness of the world as a whole thereby promoting “concrete global interdependence and in consciousness of the global as a whole” (Robertson, 1992: 8). It is an arena where tensions between the trends of globalization and localization manifest themselves (Deegan, 2012). Robertson (1992) assumes that the world should be understood and interpreted in reference to the dynamics of this world as a whole. Therefore, distinguishing the micro from macro approaches is misleading (Robertson, 1992). It is further argued that “individuals are as much a part of the globalization process as any other basic category of socio-theoretical discourse” (Robertson, 1992: 8). Globalization dissolves the autonomy of actors and practices into contemporary world order. Robertson (1992: 175) argues that globalization captures "*the form* in terms of which the world has moved towards “unicity" and does not refer to a multitude of historical processes of this transition”.

Globalization has a twofold process: the interpretation of the universalization of particularism and the particularization of the universalism (Robertson, 1992). This assumes that globalism leads to the construction of the local. “*Universalism*” follows principles, laws, and enforce in virtually every situation creating a rule-based approach, whereas “*particularism*” keeps a relationship rather than upholding a universal principle in every situation (Trompenaars, 1993). When the forces of globalization and localization, “*universalism*” and “*particularism*” clash and collide with each other, they create the notion of “glocalize” (Robertson, 1992). This is a process in which the global and *local* blend and the universal values are picked up in the local, while at the same time local values are brought up to the global arena (Robertson, 1995). Therefore, globalization involves the construction of locality from a western perspective, and there seems to be no good reason to see globalization as promoting homogenization (Neu, 2009). It has been observed that global ideas and processes are contested, and the inherent dynamics thereof provoke a reaction or resistance at some level. To provoke a positive reaction, it is important to link universal ideas, policies, and principles with local circumstances through bridging guidelines (Trompenaars, 1993). Spreading global concepts requires that numerous actors be involved and contribute to the interpretation of such a concept which defies the homogenous approach (Neu, 2009). This implies that universal ideas and processes are interpreted and absorbed differently according to the vantage point and history of particular groups in a given locality. Globalization thus creates a single arena in which

all stakeholders pursue their goals by deliberate comparison with others or using common standards as yardsticks (Robertson, 1995a).

The Nexus theory argues that "homogenization" goes hand in hand with, or intertwines with "heterogenization" (Robertson, 1995a; Neu, 2009). Robertson's 'glocalization' approach is important in that it helps in understanding how global concepts are perceived, negotiated and become meaningful in the local arena (Neu, 2009). Various perceptions and interpretations of a global concept are developed in the local (Neu, 2009). The theoretical framework of this study proposes a local-global nexus model for the MMST which considers the often ignored local context of the site. This nexus should encourage global processes to negotiate and interface with local context of the site rather than imposing themselves at the local. The proposed local-global nexus turns the current top-down approach into a bottom-up decision-making process at World Heritage sites. This is expected to create a responsive, inclusive and relevant governance framework for conservation and socio-economic development at World Heritage sites in Africa.

Managing stakeholders using the local-global nexus proposed for this study is "akin to conducting an orchestra - one is neither the composer, nor the skilled player of any one instrument - instead one's role is to help coordinate the different voices, to create a space that gives weight and shape to them all at that level" (Prieto *et al.,* 2014). In moving from a "cacophony to a symphony, the conductor needs the skill and indeed humility to recognise and give weight to these different voices" (Prieto *et al.,* 2014). This theory postulates that World Heritage governance should accommodate alternative voices (Baker, 2003; Edroma, 2004; Ndoro *et al*., 2018). An effective stakeholder governance system requires an inclusive stakeholder identification process, establishing sustainable winning coalitions, and long-term viability of organizational policies, plans and programmes (Bryson, 2004). Effective governance also requires analysing and understanding stakeholder networks as these are now becoming more important due to the "interconnected nature of the World" (Bryson, 2004: 23). The choice of which stakeholders should be involved is inherently political in nature, involves judgement and has ethical consequences (Bryson, 2004; Lewis, 1991; Cooper, 1998). Based on the above understanding of Stakeholder Management Theory, the study developed the Multiple and Multi-Layered Stakeholders Theory (MMST) for this study.

5.2 Multiple & Multi-layered Stakeholder Theory and World Heritage Governance

To explore the stakeholder-driven conservation and socio-economic development at MCLWHS, this study applied the Multiple & Multi-layered Stakeholder Theory (MMST). The MMST is used to bring together the views, perceptions, power matrix, roles, responsibility, relations and ability of the multiple and multi-layered stakeholders at World heritage sites in balancing the relationship between conservation and socio-economic development. MMST acknowledges that World Heritage sites are confronted with growing governance complexities and the need to align with the dynamics of the social context in which they operate (Deegan, 2012; Robertson, 1992). Responding to complex social and environmental context requires collaboration with various stakeholders (Louw & Venter, 2013; Sachs & Ruhli, 2011 Hummels, 1998).

In this approach, MMST is used to define the multiple and multi-layered stakeholders and their roles at World Heritage sites. The term '*Multiple*' is defined as the engagement and involvement of more than one individual or group of stakeholders such as those identified for MCLWHS in the previous chapter. The term '*Multi-layered*' is defined as the hierarchical levels of participation by multiple stakeholders at World Heritage sites. They operate at local, regional, national and international levels as influenced by their interests, legal mandates and enshrined power thresholds in the formal decision-making processes of World Heritage sites. Both 'Multiple' and 'Multi-layered' stakeholders have, theoretically, the ability to operate at any of these levels. Also, interests and expectations of these stakeholders should be theoretically acceptable at all hierarchical levels of governance. Therefore, multiple and multi-layered stakeholders is used in this study to refer to the many and overlaid stakeholders with multiple interests at World Heritage sites. 'Multiple' and 'multi-layered' are used in their combinative nature to denote the complexity of World Heritage governance in balancing conservation and socio-economic development.

In this study, the MMST is thus presented as an arena where tensions between the trends of localization and globalization manifest themselves through the roles of multiple and multi-layered stakeholders at various hierarchical levels of participation at the site. However, the power and

impact of localization on globalization has not been effectively embraced in the governance of World Heritage sites. The latter is dominated by SBMS at World Heritage sites. The local-global nexus proposed by MMST is an arena where vertical-horizontal synergies and conflicts between localization and globalization, as well as within each force are integrated to develop an inclusive stakeholder governance framework for World Heritage Sites. MMST argues that if local perspectives are ignored or replaced by global dimensions, this has far-reaching consequences on the future of World Heritage in developing nations which are seized with accelerated developmental programmes

The identification and classification of stakeholders proposed by the MMST takes into consideration the stakeholder power-interest matrix, legitimacy, influence capability, and the participation-planning matrix (Eden & Ackerman, 1998; Bryson, 2004; Charron, 2007) and value-based approaches (Pikirayi, 2016). The power-interest matrix approach determines the interest and power bases that must be taken into consideration of "*players*" - those with interest and significant powers, "*subjects*" who have an interest but little power, "*context setters*" who have power but little interest and "*crowd*" being stakeholders with little interest or power in solving a particular problem (Bryson, 2004: 31). Bryson (2004) defines power as the directions of interests of a particular stakeholder. Base of power identifies the source of power which is needed to direct the interest of each stakeholder (Bryson, 2004; Eden & Ackerman, 1998). Power can come from being in control of legislation, resources, and access to support mechanisms (Charron, 2007). Winning coalitions are viable political strategies for achieving better outcomes and are heavily influenced by the bases of power. Influence capability shows how stakeholders influence one another and this is guided by lines of influence that can be identified (Bryson, 2004). This is central in determining which stakeholder is critical to strategic management or a strategy change-effort (Bryson, 2004).

Based on the above MMST governance framework, stakeholders for MCLWHS are theoretically classified and customized as follows:

(i) **Stakeholders with 'universalized' interests, power and means to impose decisions**. These stakeholders do not own the sites but own the international processes that give them power and intergovernmental statutory means to implement their mandates as

enshrined in the ratified 1972 World Heritage Convention and other related instruments through -SBMS.

(ii) **Stakeholders with 'nationalized' interest, power and means to make double barrelled decisions**. These are nationalized stakeholders playing multiple and conflicting roles such as policing legal instruments, determining resource allocation, taking decisions and controlling other stakeholder participation at MCLWHS. These roles are inseparable from politics and governmental approach of the SBMS that benefit from taxpayers. These stakeholders include national and provincial governments, districts and local municipalities, and their associated State funded agencies. These stakeholders are forever fighting to protect their legal authority and political directives. Furthermore, their governance approach is more of compliance with standing protocols as opposed to being part of the solution to broader community challenges. In addition, they are characterised by bureaucratic rigidity on matters beyond their competence.

(iii) **Stakeholders with a 'localized' interest but without power to take decisions and implement them**. These stakeholders assume they have a right to use their heritage or any other resource near the site in a manner they desire to meet their daily livelihoods but are expected to ask for permission from the SBMS. They make a contribution by providing their points of view on being consulted but have no power to ensure their opinions are included in the formal decisions at heritage sites. They usually resign themselves to their fate of being secondary players at their own heritage sites. These also include community-based development trusts or associations, which only have grassroots power, and beyond that require other stakeholders to survive.

(iv) **Stakeholders with interest and means to exploit renewable and non-renewable resources at Heritage Sites.** These are stakeholders with the means and power to exploit both renewable and non-renewable resources at heritage sites. They come with political, bilateral and multilateral support to undertake socio-economic developments in support of national development targets. They are the bridge between the development aspirations of communities and the inability of SBMS in fully meeting

these aspirations. However, any investment and partnerships for these stakeholders are calculated on the basis of maximizing profitability and sustainability of their operations (Taruvinga, 2010).

(v) Stakeholders with 'non-legalized interests', but that have a voice and means to influence conservation and socio-economic development decisions at World Heritage sites. These stakeholders have a direct interest on heritage matters as independent policy watchdogs effecting good citizenship stewardship on heritage matters (Brown & Hay-Edie, 2014) These include self-regulating professional associations with binding constitutions governing their professional and ethical conduct. They usually align themselves to heritage compliance authorities as guardians and providers of independent, balanced and credible opinions on heritage matters. These could be double-barrelled, depending on how they are benefiting from the whole process and they easily oscillate among the spectrum of multiple and multi-layered stakeholders giving advice or pushing their own agenda.

Failure to attend to any of these categorized stakeholders, and their related interests can lead to disasters (Bryson, 2004). World Heritage and related institutions should allow the once perceived 'enemies' to become 'partners' in conservation and socio-economic development at World Heritage sites. This is important in decolonizing the notions of conservation using dynamics at localities where heritage is one of the many resources available to society. The MMST proposes that local perspectives of heritage, including its perceived role and function in socio-economic development, are powerful forces that should influence governance of World Heritage sites. Local perspectives on conservation and use of heritage are an irreversible impetus for the local-global nexus, which should define such governance framework.

5.3 Research Methodology

Given the needs of the MMST, a mixed research approach derived from qualitative and quantitative data analysis methods was used to solicit the views and opinions of stakeholders in balancing conservation and socio-economic development at MCLWHS. The mixed research

methodology combined the interrogation of primary sources, interviews, specialist seminar and questionnaires used during field research. All these mixed research methods were linked and woven together using the applied iterative principles of the Delphi technique. The applied reiterative process of this study started with the primary sources and archival analysis, followed by a specialist seminar and interviews, all leading to a questionnaire used to gather views and opinions of the multiple and multi-layered stakeholders at MCLWHS. This study defines qualitative research is "non-experimental research that focuses on the occurrence of social, cultural and political human behaviour" traits (Glen, 2009; Salkind, 2012: 13). Qualitative research seeks to reveal important and underlying factors and deals with subjective data that is produced by respondents (Welman, Kruger & Mitchell, 2005; Salkind, 2012). On the other hand, quantitative approach is defined as a "dynamic form of analysis of verbal and visual data that is oriented toward summarizing the informational contents of that data" (Sandelowski, 2000: 338).

Application of a mixed research methods in social sciences research has become useful as a basis of understanding any complex phenomenon. Mixed research methods do not restrict or constrain the researcher's choices (Glen, 2009; Creswell & Clark, 2007; Black, 1999; Altheide, 1987). This methodology was considered suitable for dealing with multiple and multi-layered stakeholders at MCLWHS. Based on the need to holistically solicit and analyse the multiple and multi-layered stakeholders at MCLWHS, the following mixed research methodology was adopted.

5.3.1 Delphi Technique

The Delphi technique, applied as a weaving thread in this mixed research approach, revolves around applied iterations of thematic questions and interviews with different stakeholders. The main principle of this technique is "consensus-building by using series of questionnaires to collect data from a panel of selected subjects" (Hsu & Sandford, 2007: 1). Delphi is a group communication process designed to examine and discuss a specific issue with the aim of setting goals, investigating policies (Dalkey & Helmer, 1963; Dalkey, 1969; 1972; Linstone & Turoff, 1975; Lindeman, 1981; Martino, 1983) and "predicting the occurrence of future events" (Hsu & Sandford, 2007: 1). It is a structured communication process "allowing a group of individuals, as a whole, to deal with a complex problem" (Linstone & Turoff, 2002: 3). Overall, the Delphi

technique aims to achieve a convergence of views and opinions on a specific real world issue (Yousuf, 2007; Hsu & Sandford, 2007; Turoff & Hiltz, 1995; Ludwig, 1997). While the selection of participants is dependent on the area of expertise in order to find out expert opinions on a particular subject (Yousuf, 2007; Hsu & Sandford, 2007; Judd, 1972; Taylor & Judd, 1989), this study identified and used all possible multiple and multi-layered stakeholders given their varying interests at MCLWHS. Analysing the results of the Delphi technique requires decision rules to assemble and organise judgements provided by participants using either quantitative or qualitative analysis tools (Hsu & Sandford, 2007). This allows the Delphi technique to reduce the potential of group pressure for conformity (Hsu & Sandford, 2007; Dalkey, 1972). This also implies that opinions generated by each participant will be well represented in the final iteration thereby allowing objectivity, impartial analysis and summarization of the collected data (Hsu & Sandford, 2007).

In the context of this research, the Delphi technique was used in its adapted or applied perspective as opposed to its wholesale application. This was designed to benefit from the views and opinions of the multiple and multi-layered stakeholders based on one real world issue: stakeholder-driven conservation and socio-economic development processes at MCLWHS. The applied iteration of this thematic area had three levels. The first iteration started with building existing patterns and sub-themes from the views and opinions deciphered from primary and published sources, which were then validated through specialist seminars and focused interviews in the second iteration of the theme. The outcome of this validation was then used to define the questions asked stakeholders through a questionnaire administered during a field survey. This formed the third level of the applied iteration for this study leading to the analysis of emerging views and opinions on stakeholder-driven conservation and socio-economic development at MCLWHS. For this study, the use of Delphi technique is opportunity to test the applicability of the iteration process in validating the emerging views and opinions of multiple and multi-layered stakeholders at World Heritage sites. It is also applied as part of testing how a mixed-research methodology can be used to bring multiple and multi-layered stakeholders to a point of congruency on a thematic perspective, rather than repeatedly using a single group of experts with common understanding.

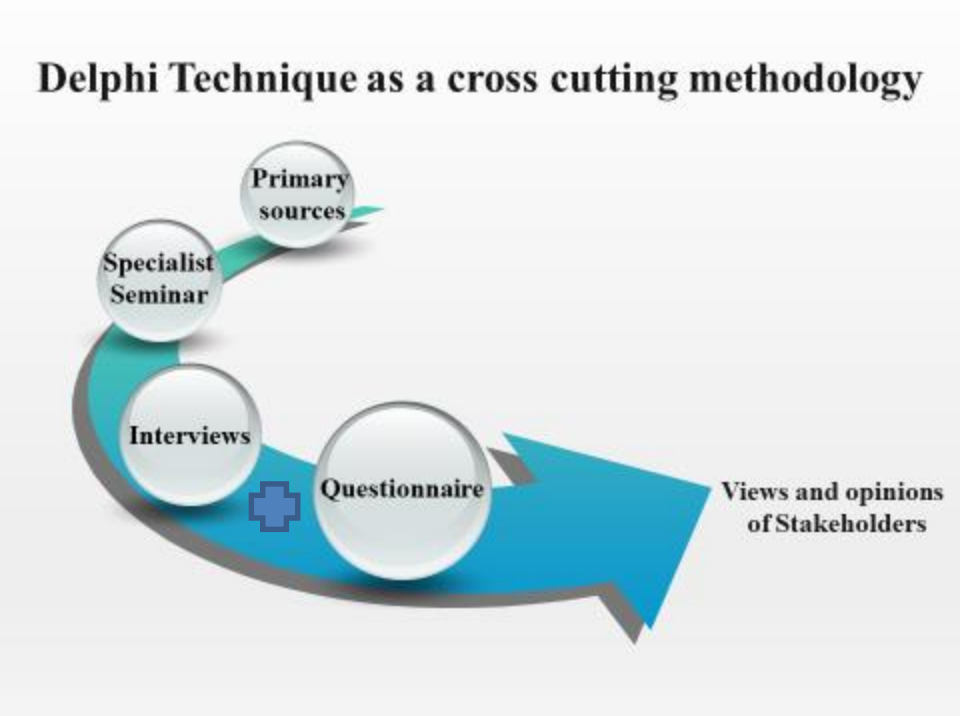


Figure 5.1: Applied use of the Delphi Technique and mixed methodology approach

5.3.2 Primary Sources

Analysis was conducted on primary sources at a qualitative level using existing primary, secondary and archival materials relating to the relationship between conservation and socio-economic development, and in particular at MCLWHS. Documents targeted for archival analysis on MCLWHS included attendance registers of meetings, minutes of meetings, background and concept documents on programmes, brochures, newspapers, maps, planning and policy documents, internal memorandums on conservation issues, annual reports, publications and archived materials. The policies and strategy frameworks analysed included but were not limited to South Africa's White Paper on Arts, Culture and Heritage (1996)), national and international heritage legislations and related policies, as well as Government development policy documents. These also included the African Position Papers on the Implementation of the 1972 World Heritage Convention, regional and international position papers on conservation and sustainable development. Furthermore, national and international protocols on World Heritage sites, documents of development industries, non-governmental organizations, heritage professional

associations, Getty SARAP Program (Getty, 2007), UNESCO decisions, Development Plans of South Africa and African Union at large were also reviewed. These multiple sources were reviewed to elicit meaning, gain understanding and develop empirical knowledge on emerging views and opinions on the subject matter (Bowen, 2009: 27). The processes combine elements of content analysis and thematic analysis (Brown & Mitchell, 2000). Content analysis refers to organising information into thematic areas, while thematic analysis is a form of pattern recognition within the data researched (Ferriday & Muir-Cochrane, 2006). However, it is important to look at the documents subjected to archival analysis in a critical and objective way (Bowen, 2009: Ferriday & Muir-Cochrane, 2006).

5.3.3 Specialist Seminar and Interviews

Based on the results of analysis conducted on primary sources, individual and group interviews, and one specialist seminar were conducted with different stakeholders at MCLWHS and in other African countries. These interviews covered heritage experts, academics, developers, learners, politicians, local communities and legal practitioners focusing on the subject matter. Participants were randomly targeted at specialized regional and international meetings on conservation and sustainable development. The specialist seminar was conducted in 2015 during the Association of Southern African Professional Archaeologists (ASAPA) conference held in Harare, Zimbabwe. In addition, and taking advantage of the various festivals held at MCLWHS, consultations with local community in the Mapungubwe Area prior to the main field work were done in 2016 and 2017. This was expected to assist in shaping the focus of the study through developing thematic and sub-thematic research issues for the main field work at MCLWHS. These interviews, consultations and specialist seminar provided useful inputs into the pathological analysis of the relationship between conservation and socio-economic development at heritage sites in Africa.

5.3.4 Field surveys: Questionnaires

Flowing from the analysis of primary sources, specialist seminar and interviews as iterative processes on the emerging stakeholder views and opinions on conservation and socio-economic development, a questionnaire was designed and administered to solicit the views and opinions of

multiple and multi-layered stakeholders at MCLWHS (see Appendix 1). The questionnaire was administered within and outside MCLWHS. This nationwide approach which assumed that all stakeholders should be aware of the existence of such an important World Heritage site in South Africa. Questionnaires are generally used to explore or expose underlying assumptions and correlate complex decisions and issues on a defined thematic area. The questionnaire used in this research was predominantly a closed one given the applied iteration process from primary to specialist seminar and interviews. However, some questions were left open-ended in order to capture extra information from respondents. The closed format made it easy for participants to respond to the thematic questions using alternative responses provided and as derived from the applied iterations of the Delphi technique. The closed format also facilitated the coding and effective analysis of the responses to give emerging views and opinions on stakeholder-driven conservation and socio-economic development at MCLWHS. The design and administration was subjected to a pilot questionnaire survey, after which the final one was administered as outlined above within and outside MCLWHS.

The field process involved identifying the study population whose consensus opinion on stakeholder-driven conservation and socio-economic development at MCLWHS was being sought. The study population included all possible stakeholders of the MCLWHS in its various manifestations as a National Park, World Heritage site, National Heritage and GMTFCA. South Africa, as a country was also considered as a primary catchment of these stakeholders as the MCLWHS is of both national and international significance, and is supposed to be known by all. The identification of target stakeholders was influenced by the historiography (Dena, 1992) and archival studies, past and current databases of meetings, workshops, conferences, various stakeholder fora hosted by SANParks, DEA, DAC, the Limpopo Provincial Government, the Universities of Pretoria, the Southern African Rock Art Project (SARAP) and the Conservation and Management of Rock Art in Southern Africa (COMRASA).

The study population included the following:

Stakeholder group	Characteristics
IDCs	Stakeholders with a cultural or associative connection with the MCLWHS irrespective of they whether they were living inside or outside the site.
Employees of SANParks	People that are currently employed in various departments of SANParks as the Management Authority of the MCLWHS
Relevant Government Departments	Representatives of national and provincial governments, including respective institutions, agencies, district and municipalities in the Greater Mapungubwe Area, which includes the MCLWHS,
Relevant members of the Media Sector	Media houses with related publications on mining issues.
Relevant Development agencies/sector	Community of institutions/companies directly associated with various socio-economic land-uses in the Greater Mapungubwe Area, which includes the MCLWHS. This includes community-based organizations and civic organizations supporting developmental goals in the area
Relevant Lobby groups/Professional associations	Non-governmental organizations or Professional Associations involved with advocacy and developmental programmes in the Greater Mapungubwe Area, which includes the MCLWHS.
Relevant Regulatory Authorities	Government departments and institutions that are regulatory authorities in the Greater Mapungubwe Area, which includes the MCLWHS.
Relevant Learners/Young People	Being young people in South Africa and at various levels of their educational development, representing future custodians and consumers of heritage values in the Greater Mapungubwe Area, which includes the MCLWHS.

Table 5.1: MCLWHS Study population categories

For the field work, random participants from the identified stakeholder categories were asked to complete the questionnaires. Questionnaires were physically and electronically administered to the study population. The advantage of this approach was the opportunity to have a broad insight into the views and opinions of multiple and multi-layered stakeholders at MCLWHS.

5.3.5 Data Management

The data collected from the field was cleaned up to eliminate chances of errors creeping into the final phase of analysis in this study. All interviews were recorded with the permission of the participants. The questionnaires were manually and digitally archived for easy reference during analysis phase. During analysis all questionnaires were thoroughly checked for their completeness to avoid dealing with incomplete datasets. They were then serialized as part of analysis, which culminated in their emerging views and opinions on stakeholder-driven conservation and socio-economic development at MCLWHS.

5.3.6 Data Analysis

The choice of the data analysis strategy took into consideration the context and purpose of the study, as well as the main and sub-research questions. Data analysis was carried out as a process of summarizing, rearranging, ordering the data to make it easy to understand and interpret using statistical tools. Therefore, the data was coded and analysed using statistical means to generate qualitative information supported by graphical representations, which made it possible to understand the evolving stakeholder-driven conservation and socio-economic development patterns and issues at MCLWHS.

5.4 Summary of research methodology and strategies

The research methodology employed in this research is summarised below as; *iteration 1*: primary analysis on emerging views and opinions, *iteration 2*: specialist seminar and interviews to validate emerging views and opinions, *iteration 3*: field survey through questionnaire to elicit views and

opinions of multiple and multi-layered stakeholders at MCLWHS, and finally the *analysis* of field results and data collected over the research period as the basis of drawing general conclusions of the study.

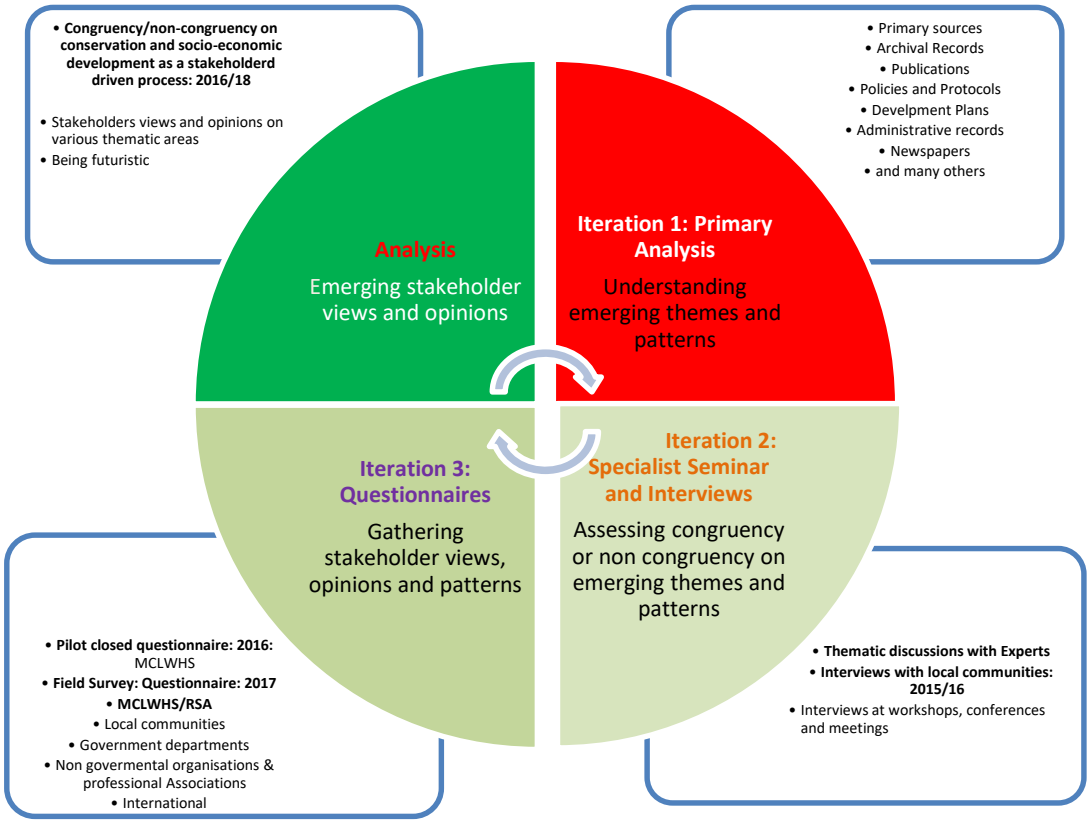


Figure 5.2: Summary of the Mixed Research Methodology

5.5 Conclusion

This stakeholder analysis at MCLWHS (Chapter four) was the basis of identifying the target population for the field research and research methodology used in this study. Contextualising this into the country of study, and in terms of the governing Protected Areas Act for the MCLWHS, the adoption of the term stakeholder was considered important. (see chapter two). Stakeholder is identified as any person, an organ of State or a community contemplated in section 82 (1) (a), or an indigenous community contemplated in section 82 (1) (b) of NEMPA. Therefore, the definition

and terminology adopted in this study is consistent with this approach and is also considered sufficient enough to identify affected and interested stakeholders at World Heritage sites such as MCLWHS. A mixed qualitative and quantitative research methodology was adopted and benefitted from the applied use of the Delphi technique. The applied iteration on the thematic area of stakeholder-driven conservation and socio-economic development, started with the analysing primary sources, leading to the second iteration characterized by validation of emerging views and opinions through specialist seminars and focused interviews. The seminar was a roundtable discussion for regional experts during the ASAPA Conference in 2015 (Harare, Zimbabwe), while the stakeholder consultations at Mapungubwe was during the Mapungubwe Festival event (2016) and the Mapungubwe Kingdom Seminar held in 2017. The outcome of this second iteration led to the fourth iteration; the questionnaire, which became the main tool for the fieldwork conducted at MCLWHS. This sets the context of the field results on the views and opinions of the multiple and multi-layered stakeholders on conservation and socio-economic development.

6. Chapter 6: Perceptions, Power-interest matrix, Influence capability and Stakeholders at MCLWHS

6.1 Introduction

This chapter presents the results of the fieldwork conducted to determine the perceptions and decision making powers of a wide range of stakeholders of the MCLWHS in South Africa. Different mixed research methods (outlined in chapter five) were used in gathering data. The ASAPA seminar was attended by 20 experts while the Mapungubwe Kingdom Seminar had more than 135 participants (including representatives of IDCs). While a total of 300 questionnaires were distributed through various platforms emails, workshops and conferences in South Africa, only 145 questionnaires were received back. This chapter presents the results of these desktop surveys, perceptions of experts, IDCs and the rest of the stakeholders who responded to the questionnaire. The analysis of the field results using both qualitative and non-qualitative analytical methods assisted in understanding the emerging stakeholder patterns propelling the discussion in the next chapter of the thesis.

6.2 Desktop Survey: MCLWHS

The primary analysis of this study focused on understanding the State of Conservation and the related interactions of the multiple and multi-layered stakeholders at MCLWHS. This analysis was based on the State of Conservation (SOC) reports submitted to DEA and UNESCO by SANParks, records of stakeholder engagement (Park Forum), administrative records and other relevant documentation chronicling similar activities at the site. All these documents assisted in identifying two interrelated issues at MCLWHS: the emerging conservation challenges and related stakeholders' issues. The emerging conservation challenges at MCLWHS are analysed using the thirteen (13) primary threat typologies as defined by the World Heritage Committee. These are: buildings and developments, transportation infrastructure, services infrastructure, pollution, biological resource use/modification, physical resource extraction, local conditions affecting

physical fabric, social/cultural uses of heritage, other human activities, climate change and severe weather events, sudden ecological or geological events, invasive/alien species or hyper-abundant species, management and institutional factors (http://whc.unesco.org/en/soc/). The first eight typologies relate to the discussion in this study, namely conservation and socio-economic development. These typologies should also be viewed as opportunities that bring conservation, socio-economic development and stakeholders closer at World Heritage sites. This is where the management and institutional factors become a cross-cutting typology. From these threats, this chapter deduces emerging conservation and socio-economic development issues at MCLWHS.

6.2.1 State of Conservation

The desktop survey shows that at the time of inscription the World Heritage Committee identified the conservation issues at MCLWHS and this was expected to be addressed by the State Party. These issues were relating to conservation, agriculture and mining (see Figure 6.1). Based on the above context, MCLWHS has so far submitted five State of Conservation reports to the World Heritage Committee between 2010 and 2017 in line with World Heritage Committee Decisions: 36 COM 7B.48 (36th Session-Saint-Petersburg, 2012)**,** 37 COM 7B.43 (37th Session- Phnom Penh, 2013) and 38 COM 8B.48 (38th Session, Doha, 2014).

Factor	Commitment	Status as of 2018
Conservation	Properties in the core area shall be acquired in order to avoid competing land uses in MCLWHS.	• A number of Private Nature Reserves and privately owned farms are in the process of inclusion into the MNP. • Portion 27/1MS of Den Staat farm is part of the Land Claim & is being acquired to be part of the MNP. • The -IMP 2012-18 has made provisions for MNP Consolidation Programme as part of resolving this issue (page 41).
Agriculture	Farming in the core area shall be reduced or phased out over the next 5 years.	Nothing has been achieved as Farmers within the core are not keen to sell their farms. Farmers have several reasons why they are not keen and among them is that; they do not want to lose farm incomes,

		it is part of a speculative holding to land tenancy for commercial benefit, and that MCLWHS should protect their land instead of acquiring it.
Mining	Impact of mining shall be closely monitored and footprints shall not be allowed to expand.	While mitigations have been implemented, this matter remains a thorny issue in the management of MCLWHS as mining operations continue. This will be discussed below in detail.

Table 6.1: Factors affecting MCLWHS as identified at the time of inscription (DEA, 2012)

These issues have remained on the agenda of the World Heritage Committee Sessions to this present day and the last State of Conservation was in 2018 (Manama, Bahrain). In this context, MCLWHS is not exception as many World Heritage sites across the globe face similar challenges and discussion pitying conservation and socio-economic development at World Heritage Committee Sessions. One can view MCLWHS as a microcosm of these widespread challenges between conservation and socio-economic development (Figure 6.1). When contextualized in the current state of threats at World Heritage sites across the World, the graph below (Figure 6.2) shows that these threats are increasing. More than 551 properties have been subjected to SOC reporting as of April 2018. Africa accounts for 20% of these SOC reports representing 13% of World Heritage sites. This affects at least 20% of African State Parties that have ratified the 1972 World Heritage Convention. In South Africa, 8 out of the 10 of the World Heritage Sites are invariably subjected to SOC reporting. MCLWHS, is one of them and at a regional level, it is one of the many cultural properties which have the highest frequency of SOC reporting.

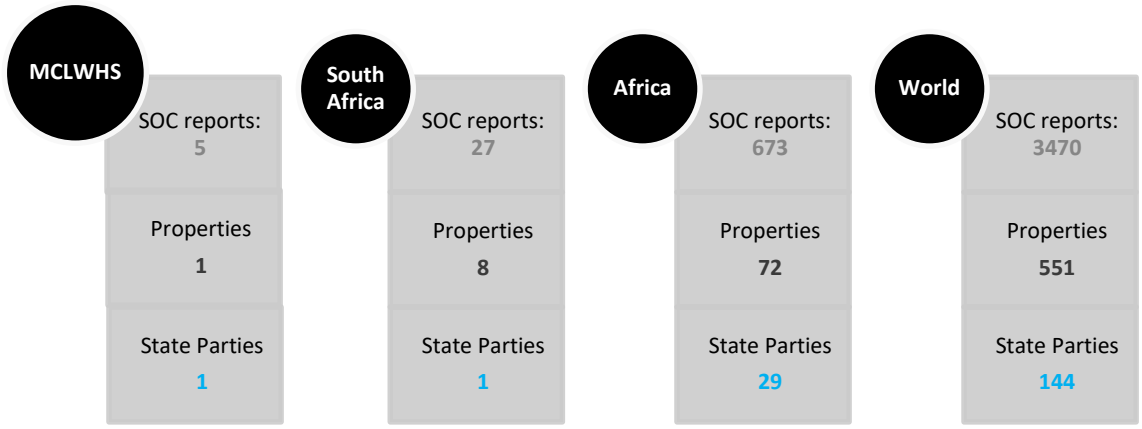


Figure 6.1: MCLWHS in the Regional and International perspectives of SOC patterns as of April 2018 (source of statistics: http://whc.unesco.org/en/soc/)

The emerging pattern in South Africa also reflects that SOC issues are becoming more pronounced at cultural sites at both regional and worldwide (Figure 6.2 and 6.3). Combined with mixed sites (nature and culture), the frequency becomes even higher compared to natural properties. This demonstrates challenges situated in the broad context of the sites that require a solution.

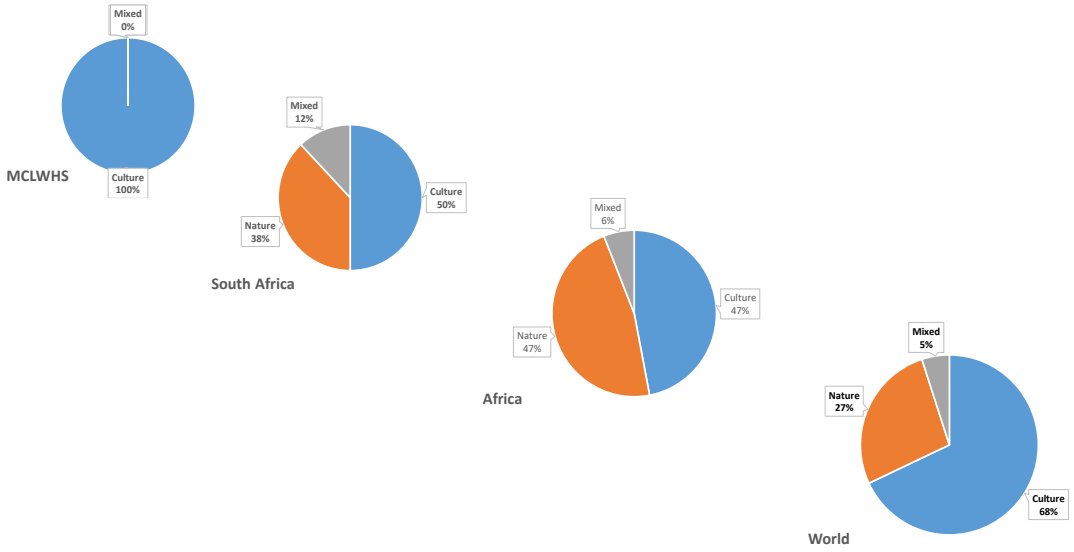


Figure 6.2: State of Conservation Reports per site category as of April 2018

6.2.2 Factors affecting MCLWHS

Based on the updated SOC reports, the factors affecting at MCLWHS are multiple and are cross-cutting (figure 6.3). These cover the following threat typologies: *physical resource extraction* (mining), *management and institutional factors* (legal frameworks financial resources, management activities, management systems and plans), *biological resource use/modification* (land conversion), and *buildings and development* (housing, major visitor accommodation & associated infrastructure and industrial areas). Using this categorization, this section articulates the conservation issues affecting MCLWHS.

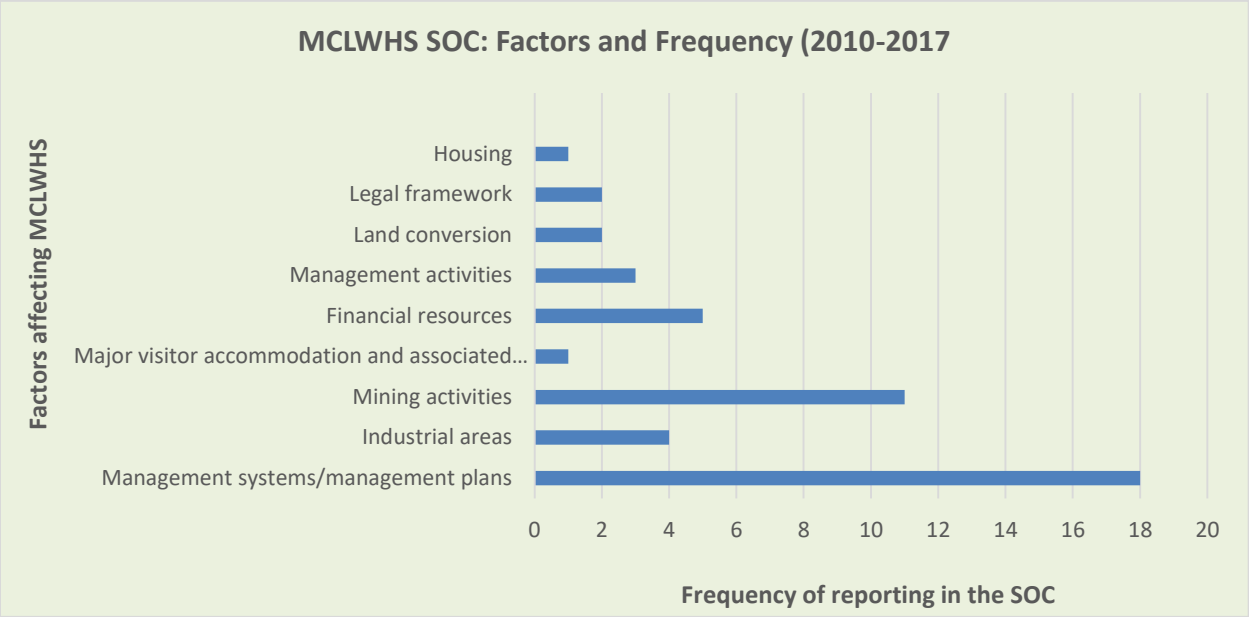


Figure 6.3: Summary of Factors affecting MCLWHS (2010-2017)

6.2.2.1. Physical resource extraction and MCLWHS

The Limpopo Provincial Government, through the Department of Economic Development, Environment & Tourism (LEDET), the Provincial Mining and Mineral Resources Development, have a mandate to ensure that communities benefit from mining activities in the Greater Limpopo (LEDET, 2012). Mining contributes 28-30% to the economy of the greater Musina Local Municipality due to the existence of rich mineral deposits in the area (DEA, 2014; Limpopo

Provincial Treasury, 2017). Dominant minerals extracted are high- and middle-grade coking coal, diamonds, platinum group metals, iron ore, chromium, diamonds, antimony, phosphate, and copper. Limpopo province has the largest platinum deposits compared to other areas in South Africa (CIC Energy, 2012*)*.This also includes gold, emeralds, scheelite, magnetite, vermiculite, silicon, and mica.

Mapungubwe, in its broad perspectives, has always been of strategic importance to the socio-economic development of the Limpopo Province and this is-driven by government through partnership with the private sector (Carruthers, 2012). Historically, mining has been an anchor for the Limpopo economy from the past to the present. For instance, Venetia Diamond Mine begun to operate in the area in the early 1990s' on a 26 000 hectare named Venetia Limpopo Nature Reserve (Carruthers, 2006). Venetia Mine expects to stop its current open pit operations between 2020 and 2030 (DEA, 2014). The Riedel farm to the East of Mapungubwe was not included in the MCLWHS as there is potential to yield high profits from mining (DEA, 2014). Coalfields of greater Mapungubwe also contain methane gas, which is not yet being exploited (DEA, 2014). Though the extraction of this mineral is beneficial to some stakeholders since precolonial times until now, this process comes with multiple threats to MCLWHS.

Mining at MCLWHS was identified as a threat to the site at the time of inscription. This threat was amplified by the action of the State Party, which granted a coal '*mining right permit*' to the Limpopo Coal Company (Pty) Ltd in March 2010. This resulted in the State Party requesting boundary modification to accommodate this socio-economic venture. The company was expected to extract an estimated 441 million tonnes of coal in Mapungubwe for 29 years (DEA, 2014). The '*mining right permit*' covered a total surface area of 8663 hectares in extent on the farms Bergen Op Zoom 124 MS, Semple 155 MS (Consolidation of Almond 120 and Semple 119 MS), Portion 3, 4, 5,6,13, 14 and Remainder Extent of the farm Over Vlakte 125 MS and Voorspoed 836 MS (Consolidation on Remaining Extent of the farm Newmark 121 MS), as well as Portion 1 of Bergen Op Zoom 124 MS (SANParks, 2011). The mining would entail creation and grading of haulage roads, preparation of plant area and infrastructural constructions (SANParks, 2011). The permit was issued in terms of the Mineral and Petroleum Resources Development Act (MPRDA) No. 28 of 2002 by the Department of Mineral Resources (DMR).

Apart from the extraction process, the location of the mining project close to MCLWHS was a contentious issue given the negative impacts of coal extraction on landscapes. The World Heritage Committee wanted the mining stopped while the State Party preferred that the development should proceed given the mitigation measures proposed by the developer via the Environmental Impact Assessment. Also, both parties could not agree on whether the coal extraction was or was not within the boundaries of MCLWHS. The State Party considered the buffer zone outlined at the time of inscription to be sufficient enough to protect the OUV (SANParks, 2011). However, and based on the documents deposited with UNESCO at the time of inscription, the World Heritage Committee indicated the mining area was inside the original buffer zone of the site (WHC, 2011). In addition, the World Heritage Committee noted that the buffer zone had not been formally promulgated as requested at the time of inscription (WHC, 2011). The said buffer zone covered Venetia-Limpopo Nature, Vhembe Nature and Limpopo Valley Game Reserves (SANParks, 2011; Nomination Dossier, 1999). The original buffer zone had been delineated based on land that was available and whose owners were willing to be part of the MCLWHS (SANParks, 2013).

These above issues and inherent discrepancies picked up on this matter triggered a Joint World Heritage Centre/ICOMOS Reactive Monitoring Mission to MCLWHS (SANParks, 2011). The mission consistently raised the same issues with the State Party from 2010 through to 2013. The potential impact of opencast and underground mining operations on the Mapungubwe cultural landscape property was the major issue (WHC, 2011). In addition, the World Heritage Committee continuously argued the information on the buffer zone provided by the State Party was not accurate compared to the original narrative at the time of inscription. The Missions themselves had their own erroneous observations, for instance regarding the height of infrastructure at the mine which they pegged at 40 metres yet it was actual 20 metres. It could have been a miscalculation from the Joint Mission's flypast in a helicopter around the site but this becomes the basis of factual discussions at World Heritage Committee Sessions. The State Party eventually re-submitted amended the buffer zone maps to the Committee, which was subsequently approved (SANParks, 2013).

These opposing positions of the State Party and World Heritage Committee regarding the extraction of coal at MCLWHS led to agonizing negotiations over the years leading to the halting of the mining operation to allow for further consultations, and the conducting of an Outstanding Universal Value based impact assessments (as provided by the ICOMOS Heritage Impact Assessment guidelines for World Heritage Sites). This included closing knowledge glaring gaps in the original EIA commissioned by the mining company itself. The halting of the mine operations in 2010 and 2011 ensured that the mining company obtains the necessary authorizations required before mining activities resumed (WHC, 2012). The Joint Mission encouraged Coal of Africa Limited to join the International Council of Mining and Metals (ICMM). This was part of enforcing the 2000 Cairns World Heritage Committee Decision encouraged mining companies to join ICMM, which seeks to uphold WHS as no-going zone for mining.

The coal extraction at MCLWHS created tensions among government departments, in particular DEA and DMR because of their varying mandates. These tensions outplayed themselves at national and international levels characterised by contradictory positions on the issuance of permits and prospecting licences. This eventually forced DEA and DMR to implement an agreement signed in 2008 promoting one system regulating all environmental matters (SANParks, 2011). This agreement empowered DEA with the full powers to control environmental functions while DMR retained exclusive responsibility of issuing both prospecting and mining rights in Protected Areas. For instance, the Terms of Reference (ToRs) for the second HIA included impact on the broader heritage beyond the boundaries of the MCLWHS as the State Party has a mandate to conserve natural and cultural resources in the broader locality covering National Park and TFCA (SANParks, 2012).

The second HIA recommended mitigations measures for the management of heritage resources inside the area being mined by the Limpopo Coal Company (LCC), including research to link these sites with those found in the core area of the MCLWHS (Siyathembana, 2012). However, the HIA concluded that there is no "consensus regarding the meaning, purpose, nature and in some cases extent of the buffer zone of the Mapungubwe Cultural Landscape and World Heritage Site" (SANParks, 2012:4). Siyathembana (2012) argues that various institutions, interested and affected parties, as well as other stakeholders have different conceptualizations of what constitute such a

buffer zone for MCLWHS. This creates confusion and tensions among stakeholders at local levels, especially when the State Party itself was presenting contradictory perspectives on this matter. The World Heritage Committee recommended that the State Party develop guidelines and regulations to govern the activities earmarked within such a zone (SANParks, 2012). In response, the State Party conducted workshops on Buffer Zones in 2014 and 2016 resulting in policy recommendations that are being processed by DEA. The HIA also noted that mining activities are either taking place or have been licensed in Botswana and Zimbabwe thereby threatening the Greater Mapungubwe landscape (Siyathembana, 2012).

In the overall the HIA concluded that the mining activities associated with Vele Colliery had no direct impact on the Outstanding Universal Value, core area and buffer zone of MCLWHS (Siyathembana, 2012). Impact on other sites located 7 km away from the mining area would be minimal and mitigation measures were recommended (Siyathembana, 2012). Regarding interested and affected parties who raised concerns around the mining initiative, the HIA recommended a broad-based and continuous process of stakeholder engagement facilitated by the State Party (Siyathembana, 2012). But, the World Heritage Committee raised dissatisfaction with stakeholder consultation during the HIA. In response, the State Party requested the Committee to separate stakeholder dissatisfaction with issues of benefits from mining versus dissatisfaction with the HIA process (SANParks, 2012). The State Party cited compliance with national laws on stakeholder consultations and the existence of the Park Management Forum constituted by representatives of stakeholders to MCLWHS (SANParks, 2012). In addition, the State Party highlighted that a special Environmental Management Committee had been established to advice on environmental management issues and also to monitor the environmental impact of the mine. This was in line with provisions of the Section 24G Environmental Authorization, paragraph 17 under Management of the Activity (SANParks, 2012). On this basis, the State Party refused to implement the recommended new "Mapungubwe Management Committee" citing that it would be an overload on their governance (SANParks, 2012).

In the above context of varying interpretations of the HIA results, the World Heritage Committee requested the State Party to take measures for the protection, conservation and consolidation of the archaeological evidence of the MCLWHS, in particular the Leopard's Kopje (K2) site, which

the Joint World Heritage Centre/ICOMOS mission reported to be seriously deteriorated (WHC, 2012). The Joint Mission also recommended that whole area of the original Mapungubwe Kingdom be considered for inclusion into the site, to which the State Party argued that such an approach would not be practical (WHC, 2012; SANParks, 2012). The State Party disputed the above observations and recommendations by the World Heritage Committee as they were without any evidence (SANParks, 2012). These contestations characterise the emotive discussions between the Committee and State Parties on such issues. It also indicates the subjectivity of both the process of developing a SOC report and that of evaluation conducted by the World Heritage Committee within a very short space of time and usually using experts who are not familiar with the local dynamics and context of the site. For instance, including the whole area of the original Mapungubwe Kingdom into MCLWHS would be synonymous with establishing a vast national park or Transfrontier Park, which comes with serious governance issues and further reinforces the notion of conservation first and the needs of society as secondary.

However, and parallel to this process, the mining company was issued with penalties by DEA for having implemented some infrastructure projects before obtaining all environmental authorizations (WHC, 2012). Mining only resumed towards the end of 2011 as compliance had been validated by responsible authorities (DEA and DMR), including the submission of the second Heritage Impact Assessment as requested by World Heritage Committee. According to the State Party, the postponement of the Reactive Monitoring Mission in the same year did not warrant continued upholding of the halting of mining as it would be unfair to the mining company which had fully complied with both national and international compliance protocols (SANParks, 2012). Regarding the extraction of resources in the Greater Mapungubwe Area, the State Party, through SANParks and SAHRA continue to monitor the implementation of the HIAs and EIAs relating to all mining operations, in particular the De Beers Consolidated Mines Pty Ltd at Venetia. The company is undertaking an underground expansion project. In addition, SANParks is working closely with the Company to monitor impact of water abstraction which may affect the riverine forest (SANParks 2017).

6.2.2.2 Management and Institutional factors at MCLWHS

The management and institutional factors at MCLWHS revolve around the management system, inadequate financial resources and legal frameworks over the years. This emanated from the absence of an Integrated Management Plan in 2011 (SANParks, 2011b). Subsequently the State Party finalised the development of the Integrated Management Plan in 2013, which is expired in 2018. The Plan witnessed cultural heritage gradually being given consideration by SANParks. SANParks is in the process of developing a new Management Plan for the site. Financial resources relate to the manner in which nature is prioritised over culture at the site from a budgeting perspective. Consistently, the inadequacy of financial resources for conservation of culture has been a topical issue at MCLWHS over the years (SANParks, 2013a; 2013b). SANParks is in the process of developing the new Integrated Management Plan.

6.*2.2.3 Biological resource use/modification (land conversion*)

Given the layered history of MCLWHS and the associated land alienation during the apartheid era, it is not surprising that the site has been invariable used by different communities. This has been articulated in Chapters 3 and 4. As of now, MCLWHS is facing land claims instituted by IDCs (SANParks, 201a3). These claims are lodged in terms of the Restitution of Land Rights Act 22 of 1994, which provides for land restitution to persons or communities dispossessed of such rights on the affected land after 19 June 1913. In relation to land claims, the State Party of South Africa is bound by a standing parliament decision that land claims affecting conservation land should not result in change of land use (SANParks, 2011a). At the time of inscription, World Heritage Committee requested the State Party to finalise the transfer of targeted land to the Managing Authority, as well as conclude the establishment of the Trans-Frontier Conservation Area (SANParks, 2012d). Resolving land ownership, contractual and acquisition issues remains a critical process for the successful establishment and effective operation of the TFCA (Sinthumule, 2014). In the case of the GMTFCA, communal and private land was involved (Sinthumule, 2014). Therefore, it is important to negotiate and eventually acquire this land for the GMTFCA (Sinthumule, 2014). This would be in addition to the process of negotiating and buying private land in the core area of the MCLWHS as part of a consolidation strategy for conservation (Sinthumule, 2014: 64).

In order to resolve this land issue within the proposed TFCA, SANParks partnered with Peace Parks Foundation (PPF) to facilitate negotiations, and acquisitions land for either contractual agreements or purchase (Sinthumule, 2014). In turn, Peace Parks Foundation partnered with Rupert Family Foundation, De Rothschild Foundation, De Beers, National Parks Trust (NTP) and Wildlife Fund for Nature in South Africa to assist SANParks. On the South African side, MNP (leased freehold land not owned by SANParks) and Venetia National Park (VNP) were included in the proposed GMTFCA (Sinthumule, 2014). With contractual agreements, SANParks is responsible for conservation and management of biodiversity, while the owner retains the ownership of the land (Sinthumule, 2014). Land under this arrangement includes Little Muck, Armenia and Mona (2002), Welton (1997), Riedel (2011), Rhodes drift (1998) on a 99-year lease from 2013 (Sinthumule, 2014). These leases have an option to renew for a further 25 years (Sinthumule, 2014). Outright purchases of land by SANParks include the following properties; Hamilton and Janberry (2005), Samaria (2005) and Balerno (2006). For the World Heritage Committee, these acquisitions and contractual arrangements would assist in retaining the OUV in an area generally functioning as a conservation zone. The reluctance by private owners to sell their land to SANParks for conservation purposes in Mapungubwe area remains a stumbling block to the consolidation programme and the GMTFCA (Sinthumule, 2014).

Resolving the tension from different land uses and tenures is not an overnight process and cannot be done at the instruction and time schedule of the World Heritage Committee as there are other local dynamics nothing to do with World Heritage status of Mapungubwe. Land issues are negotiated and protracted legal processes given contested histories and narratives of dispossessed IDCs. In addition, the consolidation of land uses through contractual agreements creates a problem in that while conservation system is under a single entity, the land involved is under a multiplicity of ownership (Sinthumule, 2014). This creates a multiplicity conservation model (Sinthumule, 2014). The multiplicity model at MCLWHS is still in its infancy stages and comes with its own challenges. Its effectiveness is a function of time and continuous improvement by involved stakeholders. Another challenge is that while this model is evolving, there is still other privately owned land in the area (Sinthumule, 2014). Also, while purchasing the land for conservation purposes was gradually happening, this came to a standstill in 2009 due to land claims by IDCs at MCLWHS (Sinthumule, 2014). However, SANParks continues with negotiating for more

contractual agreements (Sinthumule, 2014). While the GMTFCA was expected to enhance conservation, it has started creating other unintended impacts, for instance, the non-maintenance of fences along some sections of the borders by SANParks is now affecting farmers, who have to deal with elephants (Sinthumule, 2014). Commercial farmers actually think that by not doing so, SANParks is de-fencing borders which will create more problems for them (Sinthumule, 2014). Furthermore, they think that the land consolidation and GMTFCA initiative will stop commercial farming as a land use though it has co-existed with conservation in the area since the 1980s (Sinthumule, 2014). From a conservation perspective, commercial farming is a challenge to converting the whole area into a bioregion (Sinthumule, 2014).

6.2.2.4 Buildings and Development

In 2010, the Association of Southern African Professional Archaeologists (ASAPA) lodged an appeal against the decision to grant the mining right in the MCLWHS (*http:://whc.unesco.org/en/soc/554/*). The appeal cited the inadequacy of the EIA and related HIA aspects, including its failure to consider context of the wider landscape of the World Heritage site (ASAPA, 2010). In addition, ASAPA argued that these developments would encourage industrialization that would negatively impact the integrity of the cultural landscape (*http:://whc.unesco.org/en/soc/554/*). Industrialization would entail development of infrastructure such as houses, roads, shelters, sanitation facilities, administrative offices and vegetation clearance for these facilities. This included the non-quantified negative impacts on archaeological sites and places of spirituality at MCLWHS. In the overall, ASAPA concluded that the entire Vele Basin area is of great importance and any development, even on a small scale, would be detrimental to the generation of knowledge from the archaeological heritage of the whole region (ASAPA, 2010).

However, it is important to note that some housing, major visitor accommodation and associated infrastructure were already in existence in the MCLWHS at the time of inscription. These manifested as staff houses, camping grounds, lodges, research facilities, administrative offices, resting places and infrastructure supporting various land uses. One latest and interesting development is the construction of the SANParks Multipurpose Facility Centre outside the main gate of Mapungubwe National Park, which did not seek approval and permit like any other

development from SAHRA. SAHRA is now demanding that SANParks complies with permitting requirements. This points to three things; Management Authorities such as SANParks tend to deviate from compliance and permitting conditions for developments initiated by themselves, which they enforce on any other institution desiring to undertake such developments in the areas they manage. Second, this may point to how nature seems to be prioritised over culture as one would not imagine this happening inside a Protected Area where the response would have been different. Third and last, Heritage Department at MCLWHS, though under capacitated, was quiet while this construction was taking shape without raising an alarm. The size of the construction footprint would have naturally triggered section 10 of the NHRA. Is it a case that projects are implemented in a silo fashion, in which multidisciplinary infusion of mindsets and skills sets are not assisting each other at MCLWHS? The case of MCLWHS with this new construction tends to paint a picture that Management Authority-driven developments generally find themselves not having to fully comply. In the overall, one cannot make an informed conclusion on how rampant is this problem at World Heritage sites without a forensic study. However, a site such as Robben Island World Heritage Site enforces full compliance through appointment of consultancies who then process permit applications with SAHRA and DEA as independent actors. on behalf of the Management Authority. This helps in maintaining separation of responsibilities, conflict of interest and ethical issues by Management Authorities of World Heritage Sites, especially in implementing internally-driven developments projects.

6.3 Perceptions of Experts

A Roundtable discussion for Regional Experts or practitioners affiliated to the Association of Southern African Professional Archaeologists (ASAPA) was organized during a conference held at the University of Zimbabwe (Harare, Zimbabwe) in 2015. ASAPA is a non-profit, non-governmental organization bringing together different heritage experts/practitioners for purposes of establishing, maintaining and promoting archaeology in Southern Africa. During the conference, a Roundtable discussion entitled: “Multiple and multi-layered stakeholder of heritage sites” was held on 3 July 2015 at the C1 Lecture Room at the University of Zimbabwe (Harare, Zimbabwe). The discussion attracted over 20 heritage practitioners (including 8 panellists) from different countries, who articulated how stakeholders have been handled at their respective sites.

The panellist discussions took the format of individual interventions on broad questions around "Stakeholders and heritage management", followed by plenary discussions.

5.2.1 How is stakeholder theory defined in heritage contexts? Is it different from corporate world perspective?

In response to the above question, panellists argued that;

- stakeholder theory is interpreted and invariably applied differently at heritage sites;
- while stakeholders are those with stakes, they are not equal in reality because of their power imbalances and this should be acknowledged in heritage governance;
- the term stakeholder is interchangeably used with local communities at heritage sites. What is clear is that, whether local community or stakeholder terminology is used, they are all interest groups, which are complex, heterogeneous and have fluid boundaries and memberships;
- local communities are stakeholders at different levels, and as such UNESCO should be viewed as a stakeholder too;
- there is a constant challenge in dealing with the stakeholders in heritage management;
- World Heritage sites fail to define the stake and the respective holders, including their decision making roles. It was argued that local communities as part of stakeholders, should have a stake and this should be linked to their responsibilities like any other stakeholder;
- local communities and stakeholders have overlapping members and groups within groups;
- It is important to establish common ground in the process of unpacking stakes for different stakeholders, and;
- In the context of World Heritage sites, experts have to discuss the politics and power relations among stakeholders.

5.2.2 How do we identify multiple and multi-layered stakeholders of site? What interests/stakes do they have, and how are these linked to the conservation of heritage sites?

In discussing the above questions, panellists agreed that the definition of stakeholders in a community setup is problematic from a geographic perspective. It was recommended that the definition of stakeholders should take a broad based approach or should go beyond vested conservation interests to include other broader aspects of the heritage site. However, the experts argued stakeholder identification is not a democratic process at all. They argued that even in heritage management, concept of democracy does not exist due to the legalistic approach of SBMS. This includes identifying categories of communities based on their spiritual connection or association with the heritage site and how they should be involved in the decision making process of the site. They also argued that their socio-economic expectations should be used in the identification process. They proposed that identification of stakeholders and their roles should be contextualized according to a particular site. They saw it important to consider heritage sites in their own context with particular reference to the associated and peculiar land uses. On the relationship between identification of stakeholders and the delineation of World Heritage Sites boundaries, experts concluded that the latter is still a scientific process. Panellists implored heritage practitioners to live in the 20th century, in which they acknowledge current challenges of the society rather than reinforcing past negative experiences with selected stakeholders at the site.

5.2.3 What is the power, legitimacy, influence, capability and role of stakeholders in decision making on heritage matters? What level of influence do they have on heritage institutions and vice versa?

From a stakeholder governance perspective panellists raised the disjuncture between national and international legislation which do not speak to each other at World Heritage Sites in Africa. Experts argued that local communities do not appreciate heritage legislations as these are tools paraded by practitioners to suffocate their aspirations. Furthermore, the debate around the governance of stakeholders at World Heritage Sites highlighted some challenges relating to who should listen to whom among State Parties, local communities, private sector, NGOs or UNESCO? They further pointed out that currently State Parties and UNESCO seem to be listening to each other at the expense of multi-vocality at sites. They argued that SBMS take advantage of their stratified governance structures to engage the World Heritage Committee and Advisory Bodies on matters at the sites, leaving the local in the state of darkness as to what is actually happening. Panellists

further pointed that having full stakeholder approach in heritage management remains a fallacy and a wishful dream. They noted that inequality is part of humanity and the notion of one size fits all does not apply at all given the varying interests of stakeholders. The issue should be rather how to manage and give stakeholders fair roles World Heritage sites.

At another governance level, and with specific reference to local communities, experts argued that local community consultation and involvement should form the foundation of managing conflicts and tensions emanating from balancing conservation and socio-economic developments at heritage sites in Africa. Ideally, what is received as input from local communities, should find place in the decision making framework of heritage sites. Panellists argued that in reality, heritage institutions prevail over local communities using their legal mandate over sites. During the discussion, Ngorongoro Conservation Area World Heritage site was used as an example, where it is clear that experts have preconceived ideas or positions even before they consult local communities (Masaai) on conservation and socio-economic issues at the site. Panellists argued that local communities should be consulted with an open mind in order to find both theoretical and empirical perspectives in relation to conservation and socio-economic development at World Heritage site. Experts argued that the mind-set of superiority by State Parties should not continue to dominate and side-line local communities or any other stakeholders. The panellists further argued that heritage management should embrace stakeholder approach given the vested and diverse interests of stakeholders at World Heritage sites in Africa.

5.2.4 Decision making, local communities and other players at World Heritage sites

Panellists argued that heritage management remains ineffective without local communities or stakeholders being involved in the decision making process. The panellists raised the issue of site management committees at World Heritage Sites and how local communities are never given the decision making position or higher responsibility in such committees. The case of the Matobo Hills was used to illustrate how the Management Committee was interchangeably chaired by National Parks & Wildlife Management Authority and National Museum and Monuments of Zimbabwe, with the Local communities playing a supportive role. The panellist argued that this approach is symptomatic of a widespread practice in which State Parties and related entities retain governance

dominance at heritage sites in Africa. The discussion further highlighted that even at World Heritage Committee levels, political heads are appointed by State Parties as designate representatives without input from both local communities and professionals, further politicizing the management of World Heritage. State Party inputs at World Heritage Committee sessions are supposed to represent all stakeholders, including local communities, yet this is often not true.

Furthermore, Panellists argued World Heritage Committee cannot be a watchdog on whether State Parties have actually consulted or not consulted local communities. It should be a moral and ethical issue for State Parties themselves. Panellists noted that World Heritage Committee places the burden of proof on State Parties on stakeholders' consultation at World Heritage sites through the life cycle of the 1972 World Heritage Convention. The discussion also acknowledged the effort by the World Heritage Committee in making more State Parties to be more accountable in this area. While attendance registers would have sufficed in past for World Heritage processes, now the burden is upon State Parties to submit minutes of such consultations. The submission of attendance registers was just a list of names and not the actual issues raised by stakeholders. Panellists noted that attendance registers cannot provide intelligence into stakeholder dynamics at local levels of the World Heritage site. However, panellists, noted with concern that while UNESCO acknowledges the role of local communities, their voices are not clearly given space in the governance of World Heritage as they are not officially represented at World Heritage Committee. The panellists further argued that some local community members may have skills that are critical to decision making process but are not involved. Experts also pointed out that a strong political commitment is required to implement stakeholder approach at World Heritage Sites.

5.2.5 Stakeholders and socio-economic development at World Heritage Sites: What are their views and benefits from socio-economic development at heritage sites?

The discussion on the views and benefits accruing to stakeholders from socio-economic developments at World Heritage sites showed interesting patterns. Experts argued that benefits accruing to stakeholders are a function of the local planning level, with heritage institutions being brought aboard at later stage of this process. This is done through Environmental Impact and

Heritage Impact Assessments. On the other hand, experts argued that socio-economic development is not a function or competence of heritage institutions, implying that interaction with stakeholders competent in these areas is beneficiary to heritage governance. The Roundtable discussion also viewed heritage institutions as one of the many stakeholders in socio-economic developmental issues in Africa yet they want to play the overall deciding role. The panellist argued that if heritage institutions continue on this path, they risk being pushed to the periphery of decision making on such matters at a planning level. If this is to be avoided, it was recommended that, heritage practitioners should register in specialist databases to become visible in consultations on broader issues of socio-economic development in Africa. It also recommended that stakeholders in the field of socio-economic development should involve heritage institutions from the beginning of this process.

Furthermore, panellists raised an important point relating to heritage as a resource, which should be sensitive to the existence of other resources in the same area. Experts argued that the renewable and non-renewable resources at World Heritage sites, collectively bring together different stakeholders beyond the conservation dream of SBMS. responsible for heritage. In this context, they argued that one has to know the needs of stakeholders, national governments, regional and international communities in relation to the existence of resources at World Heritage sites. It was noted that stakeholders need access to electricity, water, minerals etc. and some of these exist in the localities of the site. Some panellists argued that Heritage institutions use a conservation blanket to derail any development perceived to be a threat to heritage, including in the buffer zone. As a solution, experts put forward Stakeholder approach as a platform that may be used to make decisions on scientific and stakeholder-driven trade-offs on conservation and socio-economic development in buffer zones of World Heritage site. This reinforced the fact that the core area of World Heritage sites should be prioritized for conservation purposes. They also reinforced that Stakeholder approach should be a governance vehicle for negotiating alternative methodologies and strategies in balancing conservation and socio-economic development at World Heritage sites.

In regard to how stakeholders are benefiting from World Heritage Sites, the experts agreed that this is a contentious area which needs empirical studies to ascertain what is actually happening. Panellists argued that as an example, while local communities are involved in a limited way at

World Heritage sites in Africa, they don't see the benefits of being involved at all. Panellists also argued that World Heritage sites do not give back in a meaningful and measurable way to local communities. This discourages local communities at World Heritage sites. Apart from local communities, it was acknowledged that there are other stakeholders who also want to benefit from World Heritage sites. However, the scale and magnitude at which different stakeholders are accruing benefits from World Heritage sites are difficult to quantify in the absence of indicators. For example, one cannot compare the benefit of harvesting thatching grass and selling curios against extraction of minerals from the same environment. Panellists noted that while mining is at the heart of developing countries, local communities, for instance, have no decisions making power on these issues. This mining agenda around World Heritage sites is largely-driven by private and profit-driven entities. These inequalities have to be addressed if the World Heritage concept is to remain relevant to stakeholders.

The experts' seminar raised another interesting issue relating to what other beneficiation factors should be considered apart from socio-economic benefits accruing to some stakeholders. Panellists argued there are broader aspects of beneficiation that are driving factors for appeasing stakeholders at World Heritage sites. For instance, depriving IDCs access to their culture at the site is detrimental to the future of World Heritage in Africa. This further reinforces the colonial approach in heritage management in a season which decolonizing has become an agenda. The experts recommended that the interpretation of World Heritage sites should be community-driven in order for them to express what the site means to them as opposed to the narratives heavily influenced by archaeological precepts and conservation mind-set. Numerous research results on IDCs have demonstrated that they are knowledge producers, and they should be actively involved in the interpretation of their own narratives at World Heritage Sites.

5.2.6 Overarching Summary of ASAPA 2015 Seminar

Firstly, the panellists pointed out the dilemma in terminologies used to refer to role players at World Heritage sites. The experts could not agree whether the term 'local community' does

necessarily refer to stakeholders, but agreed that the latter includes the former. Experts noted that the term stakeholders apply to broader role players, which included private sector, non-governmental organizations, associations, extractive industries among many others. They also argued that there is a need to shift away from the socialized approach of defining local communities as IDCs to a broader approach based on geographical context of the site, needs and expectations as a stakeholder at World Heritage sites. They argued that most stakeholders live outside World Heritage sites yet they are supposed to benefit from areas inside or closer to heritage sites. Therefore, experts generally agreed that all role players are part of stakeholders of World Heritage sites.

Second, experts argued that trusting State Parties in representing other Stakeholders in World Heritage governance processes is a fallacy given that they don't necessarily represent their aspirations in how to implement socio-economic development parallel to conservation processes. Experts lamented the tendency at World Heritage sites, where State Parties initiate socio-economic developments such as tourism and related downstream industries but these are not necessarily benefiting intended beneficiaries such as local communities. These initiatives are designed to augment the inadequate grants received by Heritage institutions from national governments. This is for their own sustainability not that of other stakeholders. Experts noted that the notion of living within heritage sites and benefiting from within or living outside the sites, but benefiting from within the sites, has not been explored in Africa from a governance perspective. The case of Masaai in the Ngorongoro Conservation Area facing indirect pressure to move outside the conservation area was used as an example. The case of the IDCs of MCLWHS who were relocated outside the site but desire to benefit from the site was also cited. These are situations that remain unresolved from a governance perspective. The Experts Seminar concluded that State Parties are reluctant to implement a stakeholder approach given the accountability and transparency that comes with it. Neither do State Parties consider training and empowering local communities in various areas that would make them relevant to the decision making role that is played in a formal way at World Heritage sites.

Third, Experts noted that State Parties, in particular heritage institutions responsible for heritage, have the tendency of not actively participating in broader socio-economic planning processes,

unless compliance with heritage protocols is an issue, which then attracts their attention. Being primarily concerned with enforcing heritage compliance framework is marginalizing the relevance of heritage in contributing to innovative and creative approaches in resolving societal issues such as socio-economic development at World Heritage sites. Fourth, experts concluded that there is need to define and quantify what are socio-economic benefits at World Heritage sites, including developing indicators for measuring them.

Fifth, experts repeatedly highlighted that heritage landscapes are different and ever-changing, implying that one size fits all governance approach is not practical and effective, especially in view of the different socio-economic aspirations of stakeholders. The experts recommended that the local and broader context of the site should dictate the governance approach, which ideally should bring together stakeholders and their varied interests. More research is needed in this area. And last but not least, and sixth, the experts concluded that benefiting from a World Heritage Sites does not mean that there are no conflicts among stakeholders. It was recommended that World Heritage should have governance mechanism for dealing with stakeholder conflicts, implying that heritage institutions should be well equipped with conflict resolution skills and tools. Experts also recommended that further research on how this can be done.

6.4 Perceptions of Indigenous and Descendent Communities at MCLWHS

The research consulted around 135 IDCs as stakeholders at MCLWHS during the Mapungubwe Festival event (2016) and the Mapungubwe Kingdom Seminar (2017). The consultations were designed to solicit the views and opinions of IDCs on the subject matter. Consultations during 2016, was aimed at understanding the IDCs landscape and their preliminary thoughts on the research building towards main consultations in 2017. The 2017 consultations were over three-days under an initiative called: “Revisiting Mapungubwe Kingdom Seminar”. This was jointly hosted by SANParks and the National Arts Council (NAC) of South Africa. The seminar took place from 31 August to 2 September 2017 at MCLWHS. The seminar was attended by over 150 participants from government departments, IDCs, academics, representative of tourism industries and creative artists. During the Seminar, SANParks emphasised the necessity and importance of involving IDCs in the management, interpretation and use of MCLWHS. This theoretically

denotes a shift from a strict conservationist approach at MCLWHS. Related to this, SANParks acknowledged the outstanding and unresolved land claims at the site, which are subject to legal processes.

6.4.1 Academic perceptions on IDCs of MCLWHS

During the seminar, the academics highlighted varying thematic issues on the management, interpretation and presentation, spirituality and research, ownership of the site, as well as socio-economic matters relating to MCLWHS. In the overall, the academics implored that SANParks should involve the IDCs of MCLWHS in research, interpretation, conservation and socio-economic programmes at the site. On research and interpretation, academics emphasised the need to decolonize MCLWHS narratives through tapping into the spirituality of the site and oral traditions of the IDCs. This would involve IDCs in the interpretation of the site through agreed strategies. Academics further highlighted the need to balance conservation and socio-economic development in MCLWHS, especially against the backdrop of extractive industries that have been operating in the area for many decades. They equally acknowledged that mining could potentially destroy the site. In response to the academic presentations, seminar participants, in particular IDCs stated that they are no longer fighting for ownership of MCLWHS as it belongs to them but are rather concerned with how they can be involved in the management and socio-economic activities at the site. IDCs also lamented about the governance of the site which is skewed in favour of state entities, while they are ignored. Though they acknowledged their presence in the Park Forum, they considered it mainly vested in the interests of government and other powerful stakeholders. IDCs also raised a concern on their role in the development of a consolidated history of MCLWHS. This included the need to decolonize the interpretation of the MCLWHS by including the spirituality aspects and moving towards regional integration with local communities in the neighbouring States of Botswana and Zimbabwe. In addition, IDCSs were concerned with how human remains and associative objects continue to be treated in the landscape without an appropriate collections management strategy. The IDCs also raised a concern over the issuance of mining permits without their involvement at the site.

6.4.2 IDCs Perceptions on MCLWHS

The presentations by IDCs made profound submissions on various aspects of the site, including their socio-economic aspirations. These IDCs are: Lemba Cultural Association, Leshiba Royal family, Machete community, Tshivhula Royal Council and Vhangona community. The overarching matters raised by IDCs included the need for SANParks to partner with them in the management and development of the site, grant access and infrastructure support for spiritual ceremonies by IDCs at the site, and decolonize the narrative being used at the site, including them being allowed to train tour guides on their history. The IDCs also requested to be involved in research projects as the custodians and authentic voices of the MCLWHS. In specific terms, individual communities raised the following pertinent issues. The Leshiba Royal family indicated that they are still waiting for SANParks and government to finalise the land claim issue which could provide opportunities for them to be involved in the management and development of the site as landowners. This request also covers the Machete and Leshiba families as related descendant communities. On the other hand, the Tshivhula Royal Council raised the issue of traditional artefacts in their custody and the need to come up with a strategy for their management as part of the MCLWHS collections and associated narrative. Last but not least, the Vhangona community demanded that their ancestral possessions in the custody of universities should be returned to MCLWHS as a consolidation of the repatriation exercise which started with the human remains in 2008. They argued that the reburial of human remains is incomplete while the associative objects are still outside the landscape.

6.4.3 Perceptions of UNESCO Category II Centre on IDCs at MCLWHS

The 'Inaugural lecture on MCLWHS' delivered by Dr Ndoro (former Executive Director of the African World Heritage Fund), highlighted the need for a paradigm shift from the century old notion of protected areas to ensure local communities are involved in both conservation and use heritage sites. Dr Ndoro pointed out the need to view and balance socio-economic development as both an opportunity and threat to conservation at MCLWHS, including promoting impact assessments as monitoring and control tools as mitigation measures at World Heritage sites. The

lecture reiterated issues of decolonization at the site, and the need for greater involvement of local communities as the owners of the heritage in the governance structures of MCLWHS.

6.4.4 Overall Perceptions on IDCs at MCLWHS

In the overall, the 2016 and 2017 consultations recommended that IDCs, as the traditional owners of the site of spiritual landscape, should be involved in the management of the MCLWHS through formalised structures. It was also recommended that the decolonization of the MCLWHS narrative, in partnership with IDCs as equal players, should be considered a priority by SANParks. In addition, profiling of the cultural attributes of the MCLWHS, in particular the history and spirituality of the IDCs, as a strategy to de-naturalize the site was also considered a priority for SANParks. This included reviewing the interpretation and presentation of cultural tours at the site to go beyond the domineering archaeological framework. More importantly, the consultations recommended that IDCs should be given access to perform cultural and spiritual activities at the site, including supporting them in engaging regional communities in Botswana and Zimbabwe on the implementation of similar activities.

6.5 Field surveys: Perceptions from Stakeholders

A questionnaire was administered in South Africa to solicit the opinions of different stakeholders on various aspects of the case study (MCLWHS). The survey was not restricted to MCLWHS because of its status, which is assumed to be known by all citizens of South Africa. This include academics, universities, civilians, IDCs, tourists, school children, students, farmers, government employees and many other diverse people. The main questions and sub-questions used were derived from thematic issues coming from desktop surveys, specialist seminar during ASAPA Conference, and the pre-survey consultations with local communities during the Mapungubwe Race in 2015. The race was used to test and refine the questionnaire. The questionnaire had five cascading thematic areas - stakeholder profile, stakeholder knowledge on World Heritage, roles and responsibilities of stakeholders, benefits of protecting MCLWHS and relationship between conservation and socio-economic development at World Heritage sites (Appendix 1). The presentation of the field results takes the same format.

6.5.1 *Theme A*: Stakeholders Profiles: Gender and Categories

While the questionnaire survey targeted 300 respondents in South Africa, only 140 responses were received representing 46% of the target sample. However, only 123 responses were analysed as they were fully completed by the respondents. The remaining 17 responses from South Africa, fourteen (14) could not be analysed for incompleteness reasons. All targeted participants could not respond to the questionnaires probably due to its complexity, lack of time to respond and interest in the subject matter. Even follow ups did not yield much in the way of positive results. In the overall, the analysed questionnaires represent 41% of the targeted sample of 300 respondents. At gender profile level, the results show that 73% of the 123 respondents from South Africa were females, while 27% were males. From a stakeholder category perspective, the majority of respondents represented academia (28%) and local communities (22%). This was followed by heritage institutions (16%), with National and Provincial governments accounting for 9% each. The rest were as follows: tourism (3%), agriculture (2%), extractive industries (2%), regional participants (2%) and international (2%). The results presented below, are the emerging perceptions of the 123 respondents in South Africa on stakeholder-driven conservation and socio-economic development at MCLWHS.

6.4.4.1 Stakeholders and their Interests at MCLWHS

Out of the 123 respondents interviewed, 63% indicated that their interest at MCLWHS was '*education*' followed by '*socio-economic development*' (37%), '*conservation*' (33%), '*social interests*' (28%) and '*others*' (7%), (see figure 6.4). The dominance of education by a wide margin is testimony to the level of awareness raised by SANParks regarding MCLWHS (*question 3.1*).

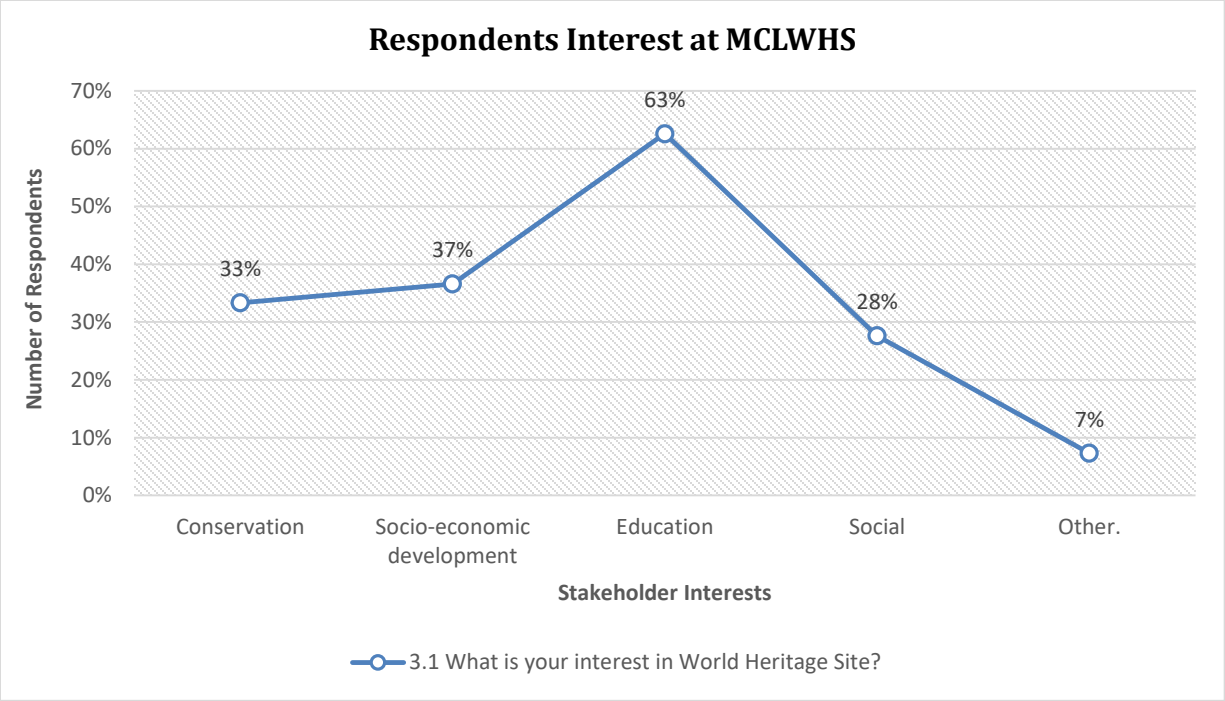


Figure 6.4: Interests of Respondents at MCLWHS

6.5.2 *Theme B*: Stakeholder Knowledge on MCLWHS

The field survey sought to understand Stakeholder knowledge on MCLWHS and World Heritage in general. Emphasis was placed on assessing the significance which stakeholders ascribe to MCLWHS, including their familiarity with the respective management and protection systems, as well as their awareness of the existence of socio-economic developments at the site.

6.4.2.1 Stakeholders and Significance of MCLWHS

In regard to the significance ascribed to MCLWHS (question 2.1 and figure 6.5), 65% of the respondents indicated cultural values as the most important value to them, followed by education (52%), social (44%), tourism (37%), and biodiversity (28%).

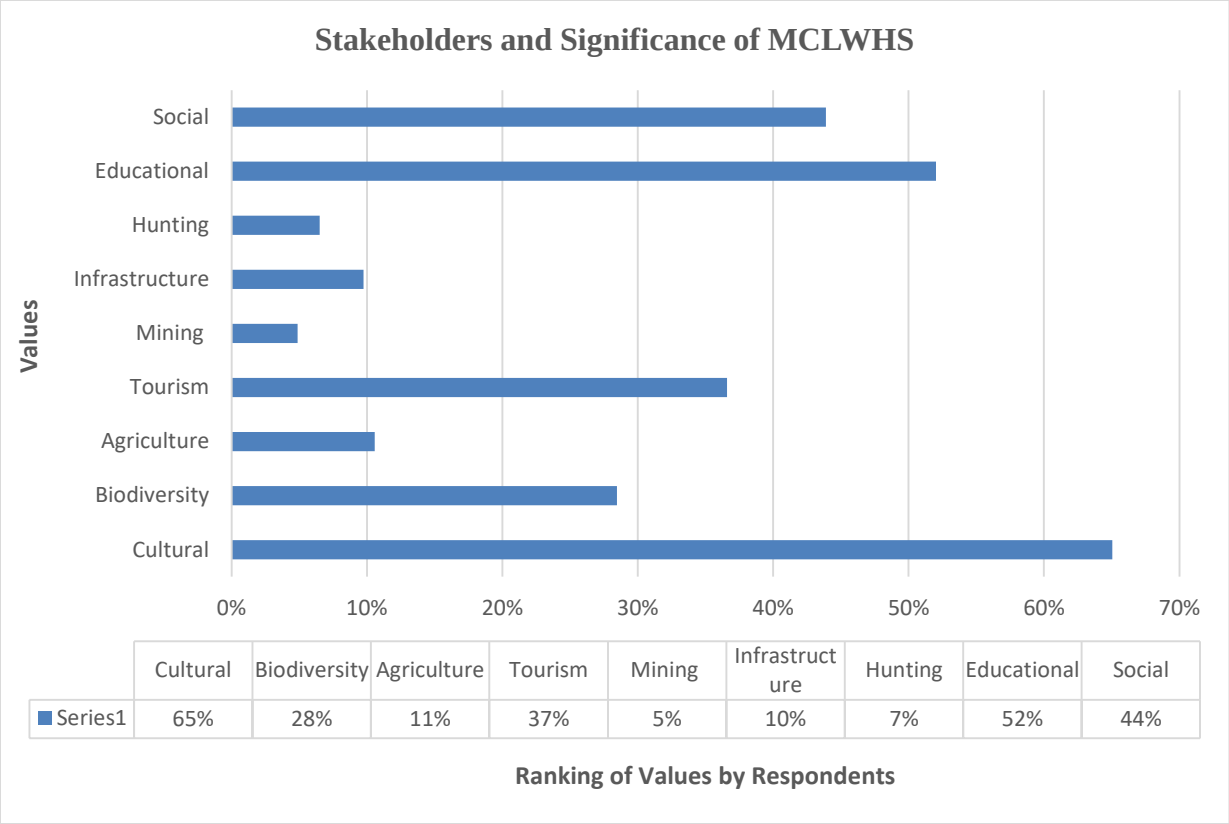


Figure 6.5: Significance of World Heritage Sites to Respondents

On the lower end are agriculture (11%), infrastructure (10%), hunting (7%) and mining (5%). In the overall, culture is the dominant value despite the fact that biodiversity values have been prioritised for many decades at MCLWHS.

6.4.2.2 Stakeholders: Protection and conservation plans

Regarding whether the respondents were responsible for the protection of MCLWHS (*question 2.2*), the majority, 46% said 'yes' (see figure 6.6). When it came to their familiarity with conservation plans (*question 2.3*), 42% (majority) said they were not familiar with conservation plans. Regarding the effectiveness of the conservation plans (*question 2.4*), 50% did not know whether conservation plans are effective or not, while 40% confirmed that conservation plans are effective. When all the three questions are considered together, the response 'yes' dominates followed by 'no' and 'don't know' is the last one. In the overall, stakeholders interviewed are

responsible for the protection of the site in some way and are familiar with conservation plans but they do not know the effectiveness of these plans. This may demonstrate their non-involvement in the governance of the site. It's possible to know about plans from consultation processes when one is not involved in the implementation and monitoring of these plans.

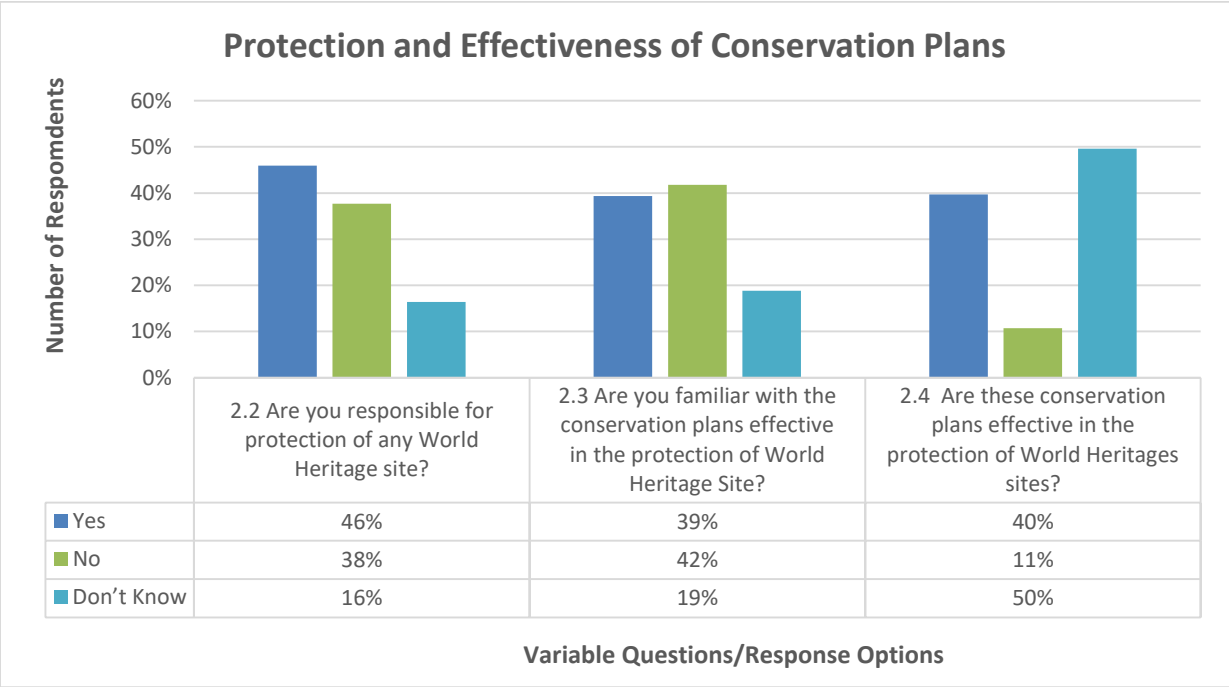


Figure 6.6: Protection, conservation plans and effectiveness of conservation plans

6.4.2.3 Stakeholders awareness on the Socio-economic developments at MCLWHS

On their understanding of socio-economic developments at MCLWHS (*question 2.5*), respondents revealed that Tourism (78%) is a dominant activity at the site (see figure 6.7). Overall, stakeholders at MCLWHS identify more with tourism from a socio-economic development perspective.

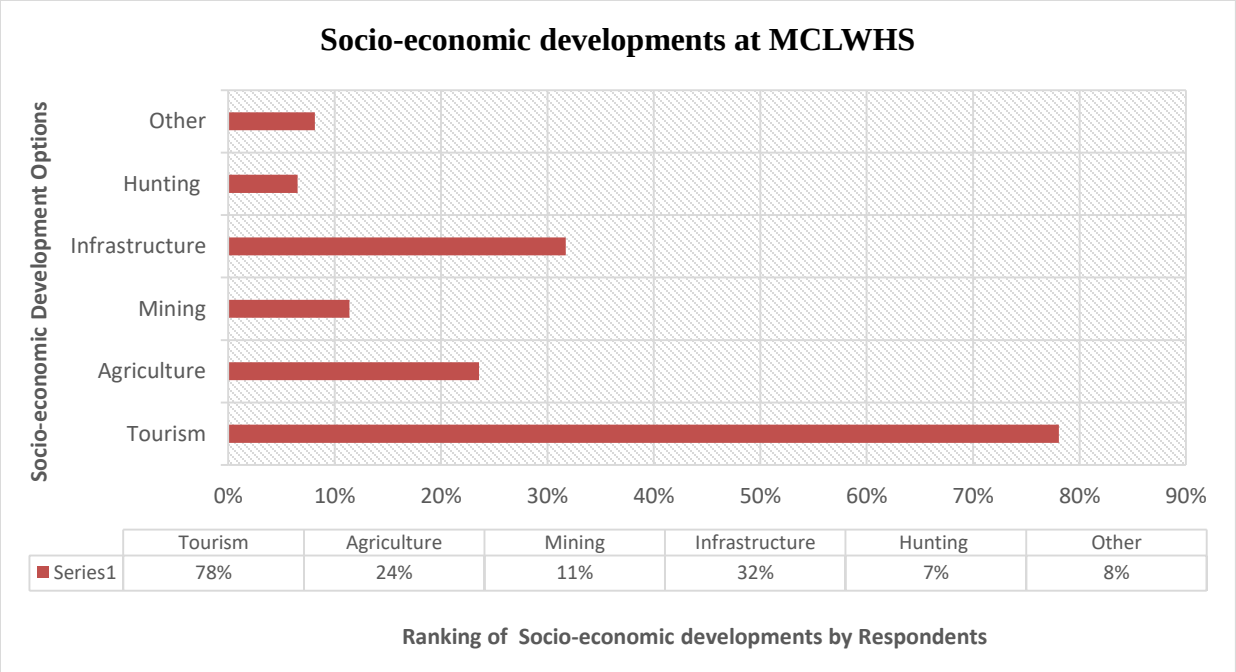


Figure 6.7: Respondents ranking of socio-economic developments at MCLWHS

6.5.3 *Theme C*: Roles and Responsibilities of Stakeholders at MCLWHS.

This section presents the views and opinions of stakeholders on their role and responsibilities at MCLWHS. The results focus on their influence in the decision making process (interests, resources provided, power level) for both conservation and socio-economic development at the site, their motivation for participation and impact on other stakeholders operating at the site. It also sought to understand whether they are consulted in implementing the applicable legislative framework at the site, as well as identifying challenges affecting them as stakeholders at the MCLWHS.

6.5.3.1 : Stakeholders and their role in protecting MCLWHS

The field survey showed that 47% of the respondents are involved in the protection of MCLWHS, while 37% are not involved and the remaining 16% did not know whether they are involved or not in the protection of the site (figure 6.8). Therefore, the majority of the respondents are involved in the protection of MCLWHS (*Question 3.2).*

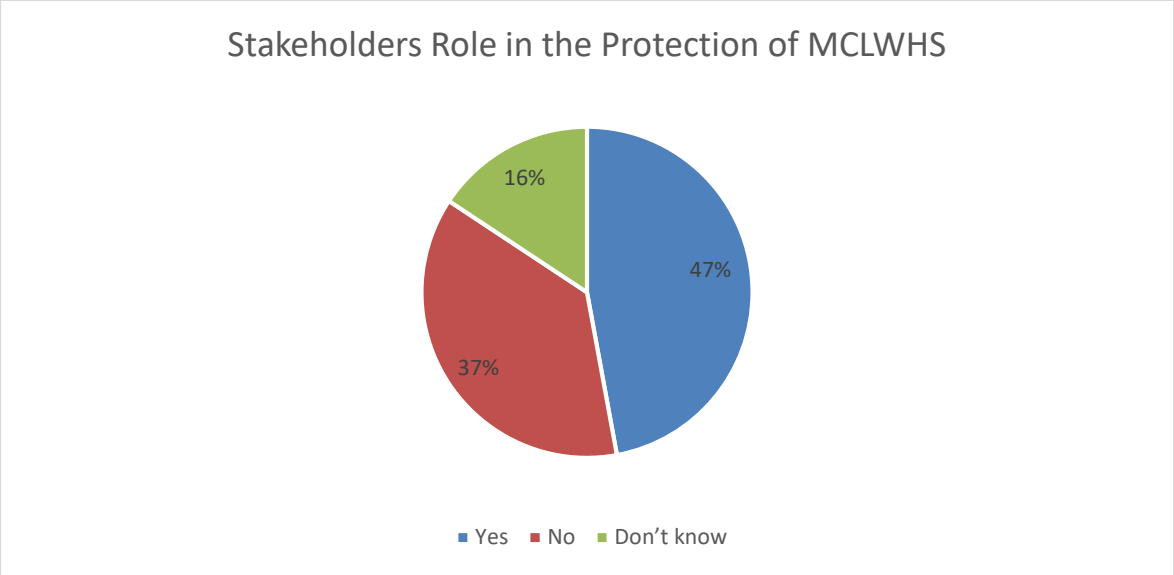


Figure 6.8: Stakeholders Role in the Protection of MCLWHS

6.5.3.2 Stakeholders and resources they provide for protecting MCLWHS

When it came to the question regarding the resources provided by Stakeholders in the protection of MCLWHS (*Question 3.3)*, the field survey revealed that most of the stakeholders provide '*nothing*' (25%), while and in variable but lower percentages, some stakeholders provide resources for '*social corporate responsibility*', '*technical resources*', '*infrastructure support*', '*financial resources*' and '*human capital*' at the site (figure 6.9). . It is evident from the responses that most stakeholders do not provide any resources in the protection of MCLWHS yet 67% of them said the play a role in the protection of the site (figure 6.6).

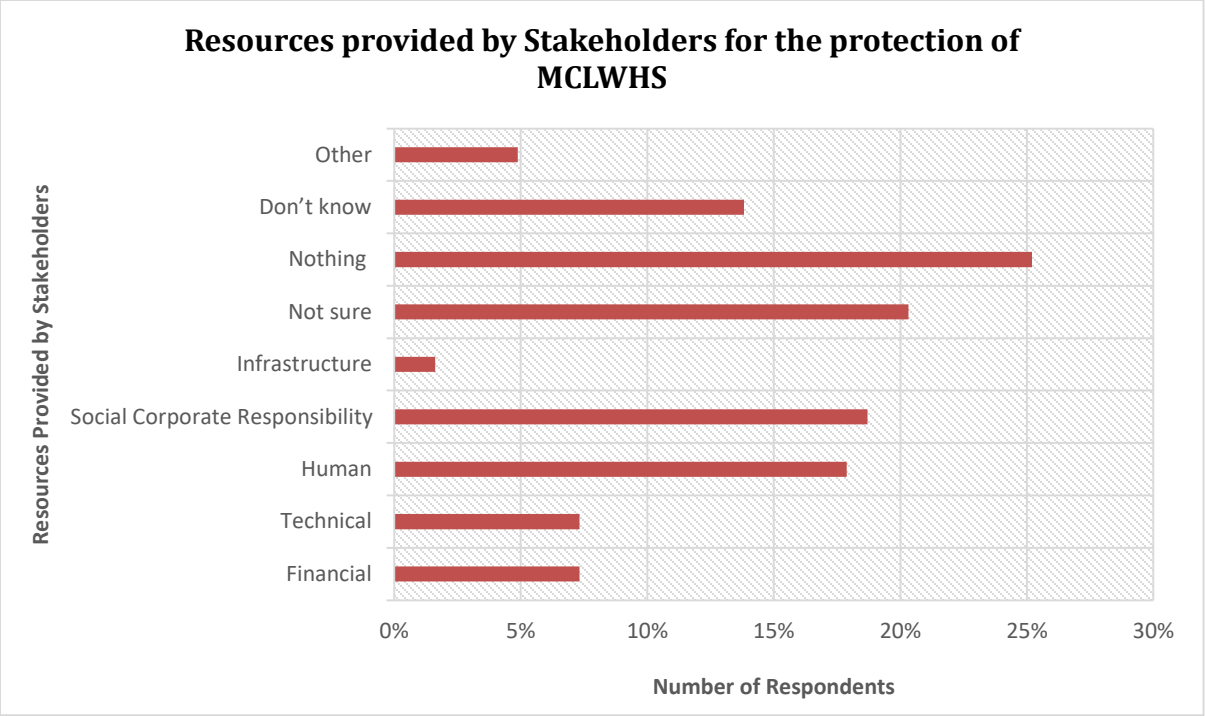


Figure 6.9: Stakeholders and resources they provide for the protection of MCLWHS

6.5.3.3: Stakeholders and involvement of local communities at MCLWHS

Regarding the extent to which stakeholders involve local communities *(question 3.6)*, the results revealed that, 50% of respondents said '*yes*' they involve local communities, while 28% said it was '*not applicable*' to them and remaining 22% said '*no*' meaning they don't involve local communities (figure 6.10).

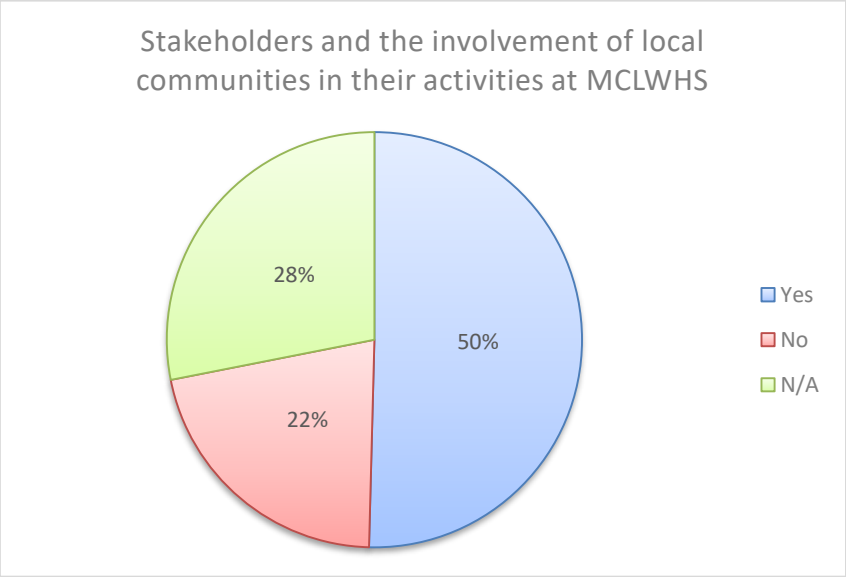


Figure 6.10: Stakeholders and involvement of Local Community in their activities at MCLWHS

6.5.3.4 Stakeholder and decision making process at MCLWHS.

On how important it was to have Stakeholders involved in the decision making around the relationship between conservation and socio-economic at MCLWHS (*Question 3.6*), the majority of the respondents (38%) said it's '*very important'* for them, while 25% said it was '*important*' with 17% considering it '*extremely important*' (figure 6.11). Therefore, most respondents would like to be involved in the decision making process on issues relating to stakeholder-driven conservation and socio-economic development at MCLWHS.

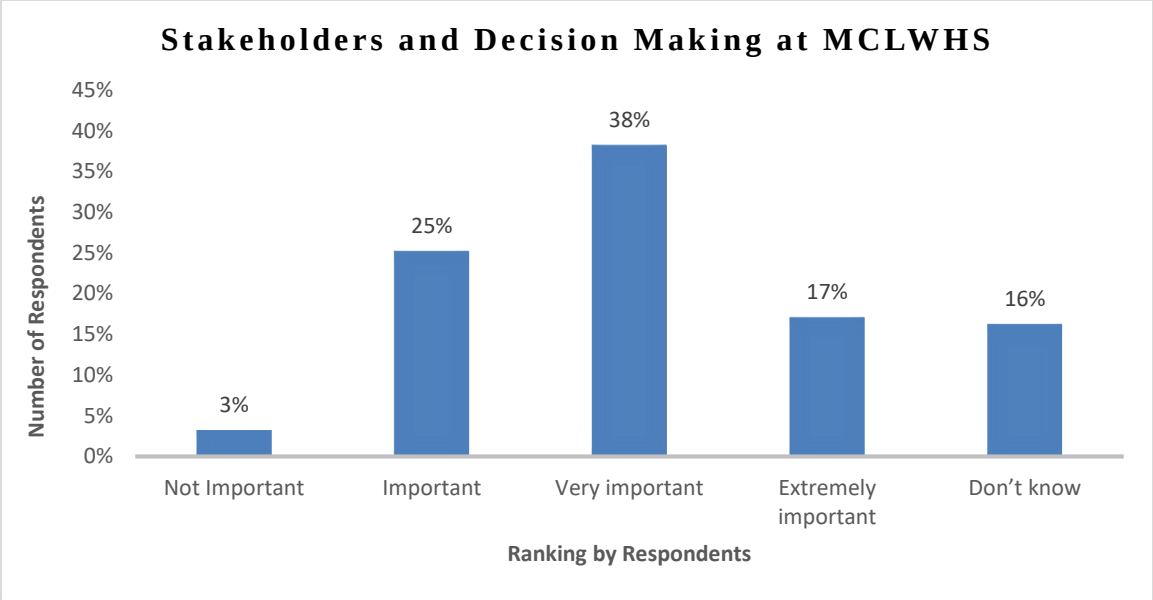


Figure 6.11: : Stakeholders Perspective and Experiences in the Decision Making Process at MCLWHS

6.5.3.5 Stakeholders and their motivation to participate in the management of MCLWHS

The survey (*question 3.7*) confirms that 35% of the respondents cited '*commitment*' as their motivation, followed by '*professional*' (28%), while 18% '*did not know*' their motivation at MCLWHS Therefore, stakeholders at MCLWHS are mainly-driven by '*commitment*' (figure 6.12).

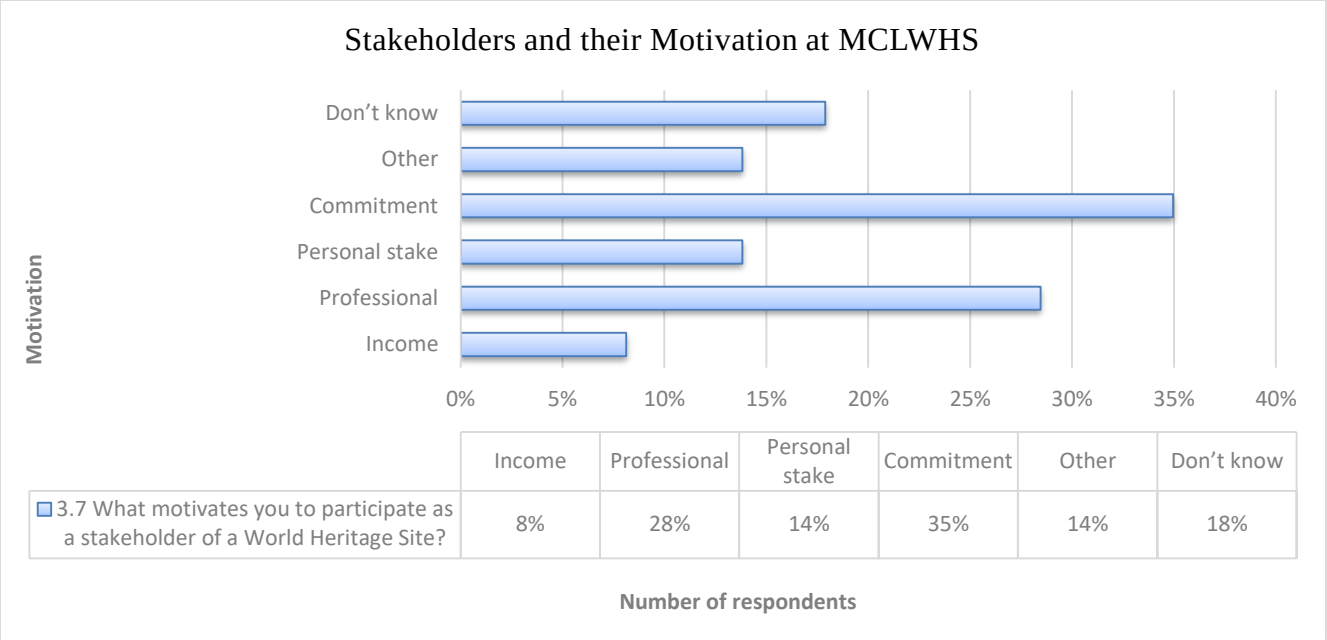


Figure 6.12: Stakeholders and their motivations at MCLWHS

6.5.3.6 Stakeholders and level of influence on decisions conservation of MCLWHS

The chart (figure 6.13) demonstrate that most stakeholders consider their influence on decisions around conservation (*question 3.8*) at the site as '*average*'' (29%) followed by '*low*' (19%). From the responses it is evident that cumulatively stakeholders influence on conservation is between '*average*' and '*low*'.

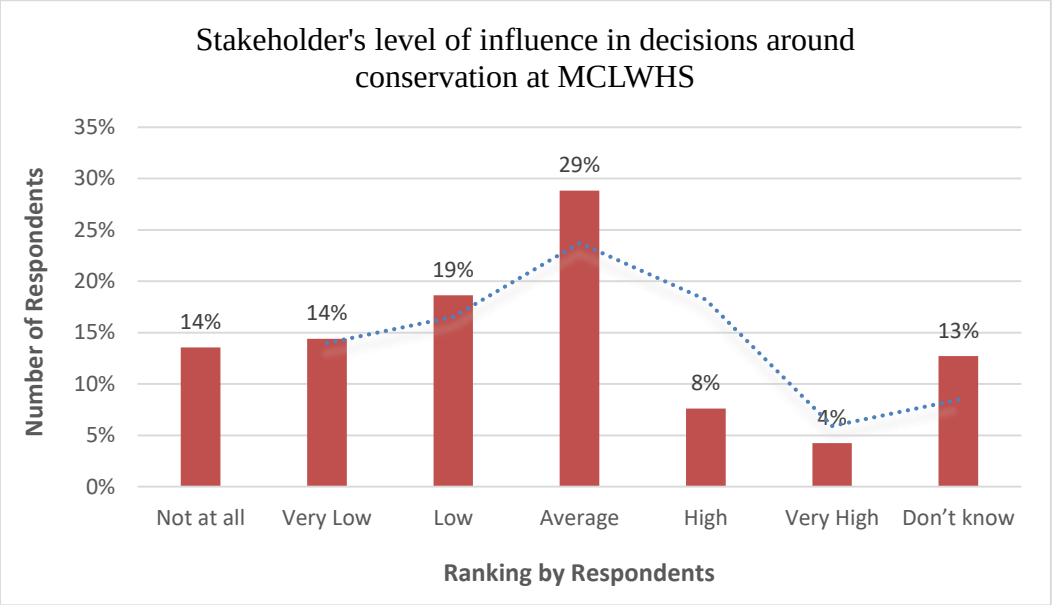
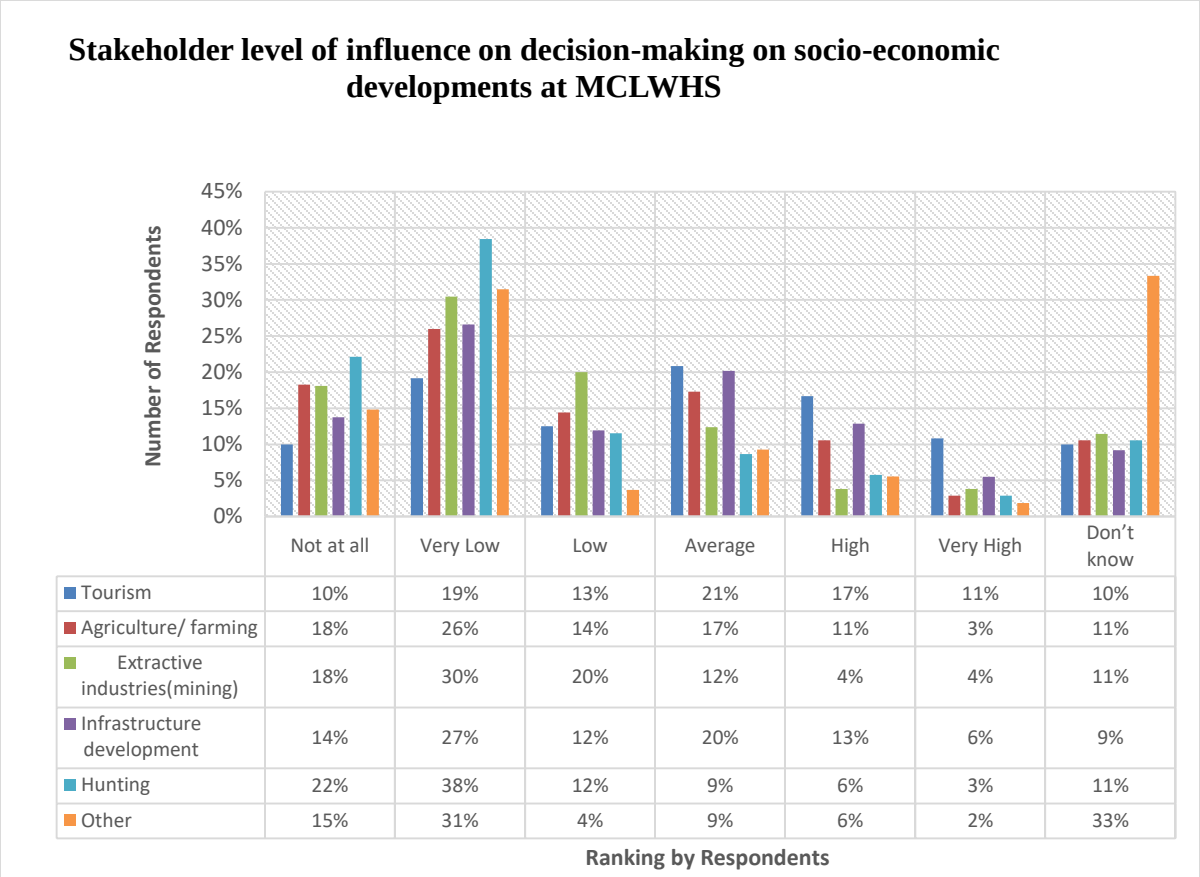


Figure 6.13: Stakeholders and decision making on conservation

6.5.3.7 Stakeholders and their influence on socio-economic development at MCLWHS

The results show that stakeholders rated their influence in decision making (*question 3.9)* as '*very high*' on the following socio-economic activities: tourism (11%), infrastructure (6%), extractive industries (4%), hunting (3%), agriculture (3%) and others (2%), refer to figure 6.14.



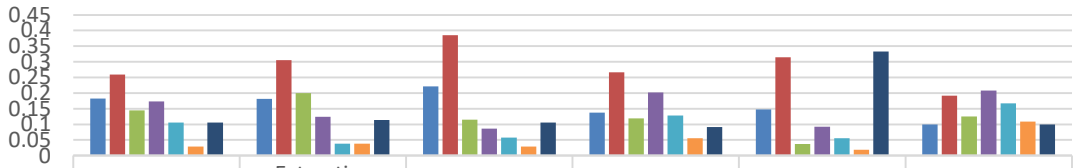
	Not at all	Very Low	Low	Average	High	Very High	Don't know
Tourism	10%	19%	13%	21%	17%	11%	10%
Agriculture/ farming	18%	26%	14%	17%	11%	3%	11%
Extractive industries(mining)	18%	30%	20%	12%	4%	4%	11%
Infrastructure development	14%	27%	12%	20%	13%	6%	9%
Hunting	22%	38%	12%	9%	6%	3%	11%
Other	15%	31%	4%	9%	6%	2%	33%

Figure 6.14: Stakeholders and level of decision making (socio-economic development)

For the stakeholders who considered their influence as '*high*' in decision making on socio-economic development, they selected tourism (17%) and infrastructure (13%) as their two highest ranking options under this category (figure 6.14). For those who considered their influence socio-economic activities as '*average*', the ranked tourism (21%) again as the highest under this category followed by infrastructure (20%). However, some stakeholders considered their influence as '*low*' and extractive industries (20%) dominates followed by agriculture (14. For those who considered their influence on socio-economic development aspects to be '*very low*', they ranked hunting (38%) as the highest under this category (see figure 6.14).

In addition, some stakeholders revealed that they do not have any influence (*not at all*) in the decision making process around socio-economic initiatives especially in hunting (22%), and extractive industries (18%). However, some stakeholders revealed that they '*didn't know'* whether

they have or do not have influence on decision making process relating to socio-economic development aspects and '*others*' (33%) dominate under this category. Overall, the highest ranking per each socio-economic aspect is '*very low*' except for tourism which is '*average*'. While tourism has the highest ranked option as '*average*', the majority of respondents consider their level of influence socio-economic aspects as predominantly '*very low*' at MCLWHS (figure 6.15). Therefore, the '*very low*' category dominates as the preferred response and this relates to influence on hunting (0.38) as per the pivot analysis r each socio-economic aspect (figure 6.15).

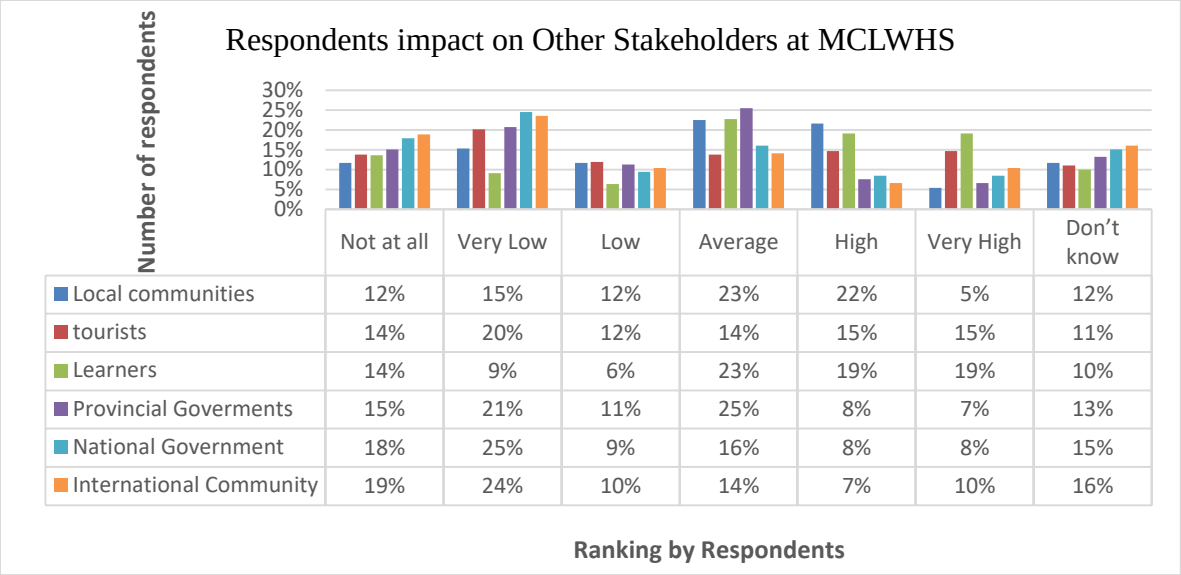


	Agriculture/ farming	Extractive industries(mining)	Hunting	Infrastructure development	Other	Tourism
Sum of Not at all	0.182692308	0.180952381	0.221153846	0.137614679	0.148148148	0.1
Sum of Very Low	0.259615385	0.304761905	0.384615385	0.266055046	0.314814815	0.191666667
Sum of Low	0.144230769	0.2	0.115384615	0.119266055	0.037037037	0.125
Sum of Average	0.173076923	0.123809524	0.086538462	0.201834862	0.092592593	0.208333333
Sum of High	0.105769231	0.038095238	0.057692308	0.128440367	0.055555556	0.166666667
Sum of Very High	0.028846154	0.038095238	0.028846154	0.055045872	0.018518519	0.108333333
Sum of Don't know	0.105769231	0.114285714	0.105769231	0.091743119	0.333333333	0.1

Figure 6.15: Pivot chart showing highest ranking level of influence per each socio-economic aspect

6.5.3.8 Stakeholders and their impact on other stakeholders in MCLWHS

An analysis of the field results per each of the seven (7) ranking options available to the six stakeholder categories (*question 3.10)*, reveals the following patterns on respondents' impact on other stakeholders at MCLWHS (figure 6.16): '*very high*' for learners (19%) and tourists (15%); '*high*' for local communities (22%) and learners (19%); '*average*' impact for provincial government (25%), and learners (23%), while, '*low*' is reflected by tourists (12%) and local communities (12%). For the respondents who selected '*very low*' impact, the ranking was dominated by national government (25%) and international community (24%)..

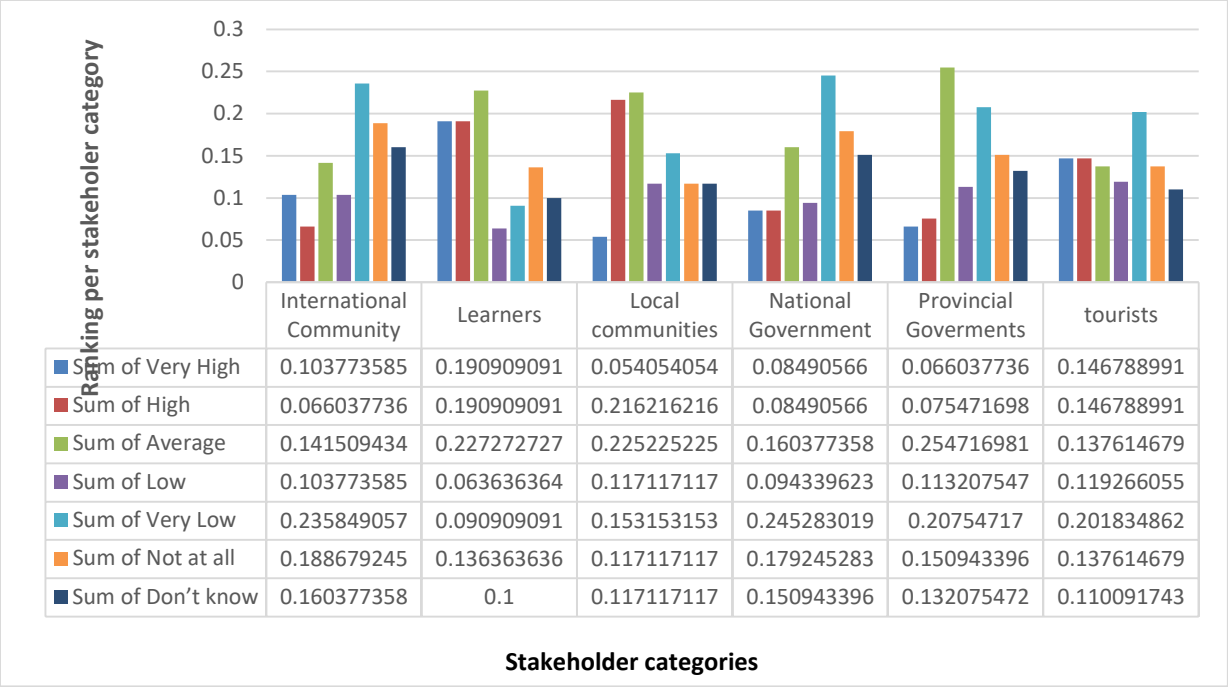


	Not at all	Very Low	Low	Average	High	Very High	Don't know
Local communities	12%	15%	12%	23%	22%	5%	12%
tourists	14%	20%	12%	14%	15%	15%	11%
Learners	14%	9%	6%	23%	19%	19%	10%
Provincial Goverments	15%	21%	11%	25%	8%	7%	13%
National Government	18%	25%	9%	16%	8%	8%	15%
International Community	19%	24%	10%	14%	7%	10%	16%

Figure 6.16: Stakeholders and their impact on other stakeholders at MCLWHS

However, some respondents revealed that they have no impact at all (*not at all*) on other stakeholders and this is dominated by international community (19%) and national government (18%), while for those who '*don't know*' whether they have impact or do not impact other stakeholders, it was dominated by international community (16%) and national government (15%).

When all these responses (Figure 6.16) are considered in the collective to find unique values per each stakeholder category against impact ranking options, the pivot chart below (figure 6.17) shows that the highest ranked impact option is '*average*' for provincial government (0.25) and this is followed by '*low*' (0.24) for international community, '*very low*' (0.24) for national government, '*average*' (0.23) for learners and local communities. The responses, therefore, reveal that respondents largely considered their impact on other stakeholders as predominantly between '*average*' (25%). In the case of MCLWHS, the predominantly impacted stakeholder category is Provincial Government (0.25) given its proximity to the site.



	International Community	Learners	Local communities	National Government	Provincial Goverments	tourists
Sum of Very High	0.103773585	0.190909091	0.054054054	0.08490566	0.066037736	0.146788991
Sum of High	0.066037736	0.190909091	0.216216216	0.08490566	0.075471698	0.146788991
Sum of Average	0.141509434	0.227272727	0.225225225	0.160377358	0.254716981	0.137614679
Sum of Low	0.103773585	0.063636364	0.117117117	0.094339623	0.113207547	0.119266055
Sum of Very Low	0.235849057	0.090909091	0.153153153	0.245283019	0.20754717	0.201834862
Sum of Not at all	0.188679245	0.136363636	0.117117117	0.179245283	0.150943396	0.137614679
Sum of Don't know	0.160377358	0.1	0.117117117	0.150943396	0.132075472	0.110091743

Figure 6.17: Pivot chart showing the highest ranked impact option per stakeholder category.

6.5.3.9 Stakeholder consultations and the implementation of national and international legislation at MCLWHS

A detailed analysis of *question 3.11* reveals that (figure 6.18) regarding the consultation of stakeholders in the establishment of a national park in South Africa, the majority, 83% were not consulted (*no*). On the inscription of the Mapungubwe as a National Heritage site, also, the majority (79%) were not consulted. Relating to the inscription of MCLWHS, another 81% of stakeholders were not consulted. When it also came to the demarcation of the core area of MCLWHS, the majority of stakeholders (82%) were not consulted. In regard to the buffer zone of the MCLWHS, the same picture prevails as 87% of stakeholders were not consulted. The same pattern repeats itself on decisions relating to socio-economic developments at MCLWHS, of which 79% of the respondents were not consulted. It is no different in respect to the management of MCLWHS, of which only 20% were consulted.

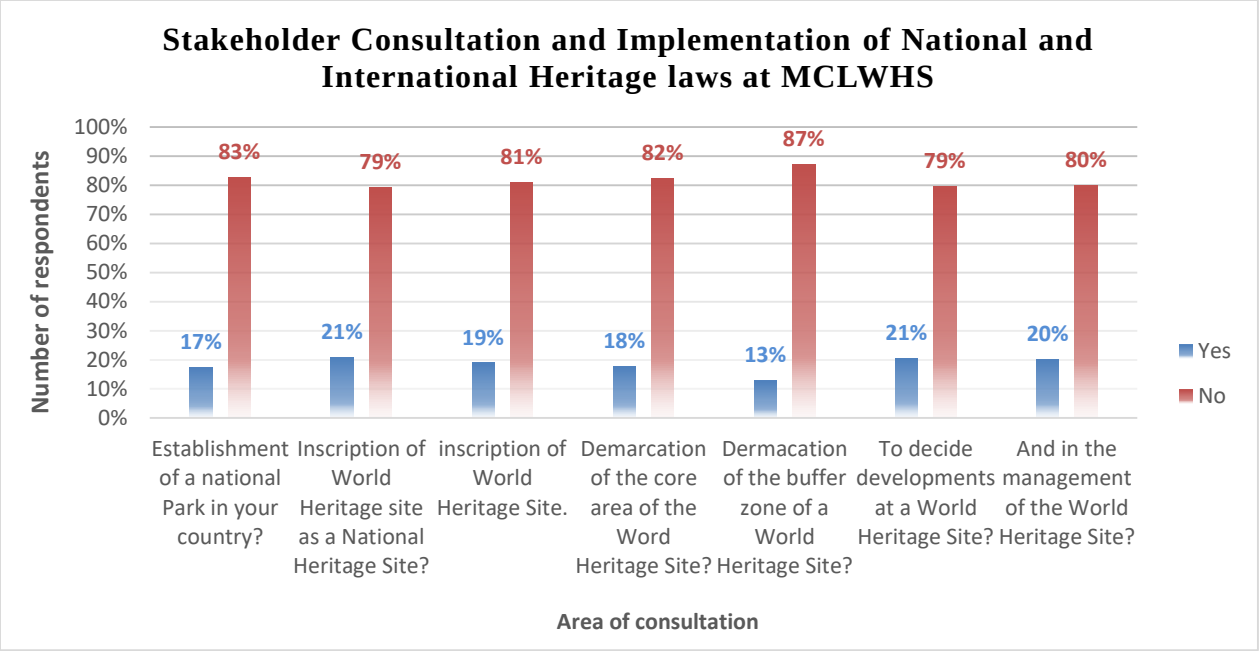


Figure 6.18: Stakeholder consultations in implementing national and international legislation

Predominantly, the analysis of whether respondents are consulted in the various processes relating to the implementation of both national and international legislation relating to World heritage sites, revealed that the majority of respondents are not consulted in the process at MCLWHS. Demarcation of the buffer zone boundary stands out as the area where most respondents are not consulted, yet this is where most of the socio-economic developments at the site are situated.

6.5.3.10 Issues and Challenges affecting Stakeholders at MCLWHS

When it came to identifying issues and challenges at MCLWHS (*question 3.12)* respondents ranking was as follows: lack of financial resources (77%), communication at national levels (68%), communication at provincial levels (67%), politics (67%), time constraints in attending meetings (64%), communication at local levels (61%), and communication at international levels (55%). However, some of the respondents pointed out that there are no issues and challenges affecting them as stakeholders at MCLWHS (figure 6.19).

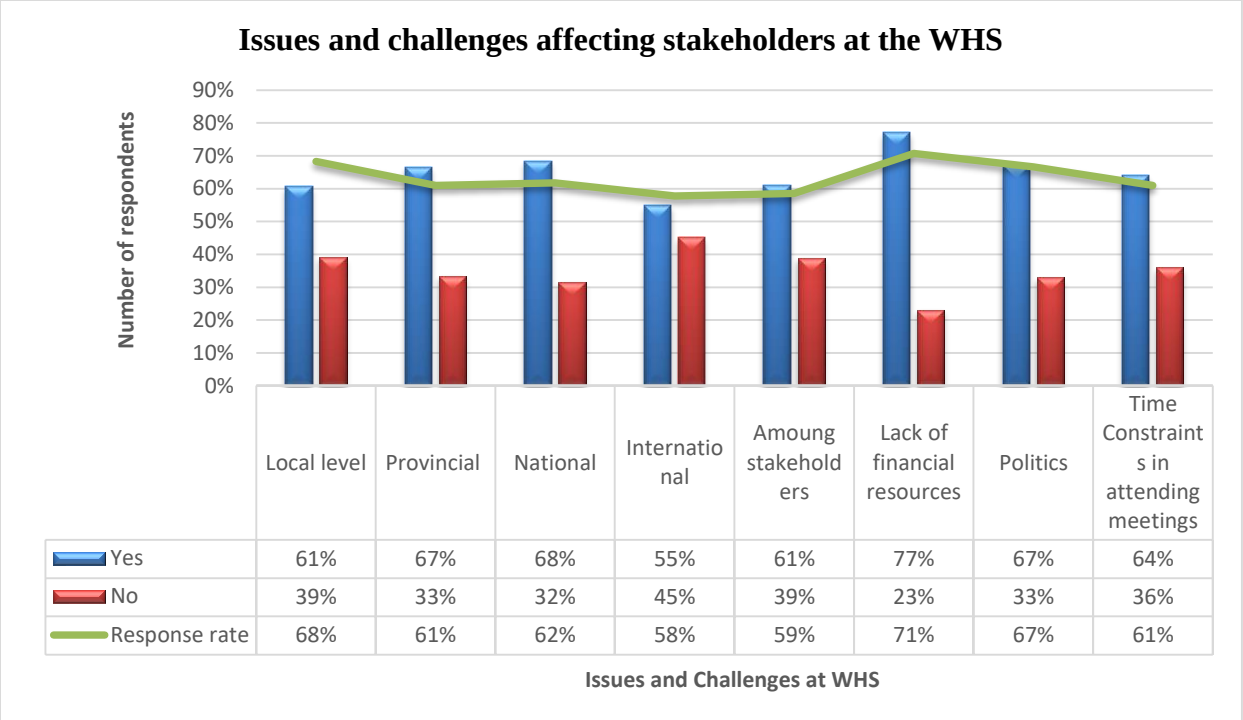


Figure 6.19: Issues and challenges affecting stakeholders at the MCLWHS

In the overall, there are more cross cutting issues and challenges affecting stakeholders at MCLWHS. The majority of stakeholders are affected by "*lack of financial resources* "followed by "*lack of communication*" at national and provincial levels, "*politics*" and "*time constraints in attending meetings*" at the site.

6.5.4 Theme D: Benefits of protecting MCLWHS

This section presents field results on the views and opinion levels of stakeholders on benefits derived from protecting MCLWHS. Focus is on benefits from conservation, socio-economic development, the contribution of conservation and socio-economic development to each other, and the level of importance between socio-economic development and conservation at MCLWHS.

6.5.4.1 Stakeholders and extraction of resources at MCLWHS

Out of the 123 respondents, 78% pointed out that they do not extract any resources from the site (*no*), while 22% confirmed (*yes*) (figure 20). It is, therefore, evident that many Stakeholders do not extract any resources from MCLWHS (*Question 3.4).*

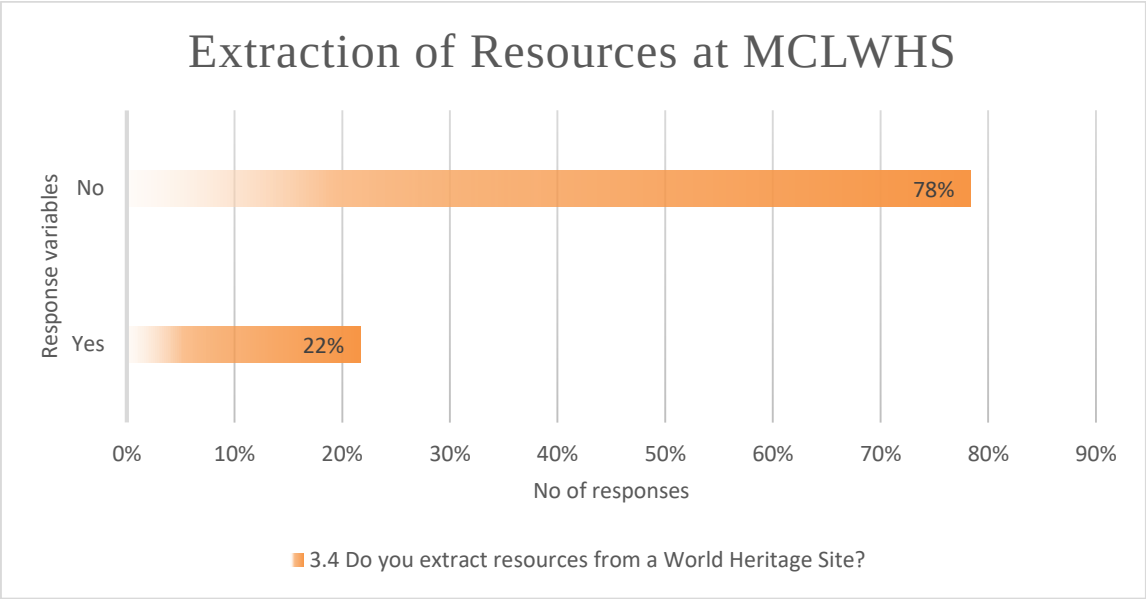


Figure 6.20: Stakeholders and extraction of resources at MCLWHS

6.5.4.2 What is the level of benefits derived from the following aspects of socio-economic development at a World Heritage Site?

A detailed analysis of benefits per each socio-economic aspect (*question 4.3*) shows that respondents (figure 6.21) ranked Tourism as the option with '*high benefits'* (46%),signifying that respondents consider tourism as of high benefit to them compared to agriculture, the ranked to have '*average benefits*'(29%), while for extractive industries, respondents' ranking was '*don't know*' (35%). Respondents revealed that they '*don't know*' of any benefits accruing from extractive industries. Regarding infrastructure development, respondents ranking was: '*average benefits*' (29%), while for respondents '*don't know*' (34%), any benefits from hunting.

Overall (figure 6.21), responses to the question relating to the level of benefits derived from the multiple types of socio-economic development at MCLWHS, show that the majority of respondents confirmed that they '*do not know*' anything about deriving such benefits at the site.

However, and according to the respondents, '*tourism*' is giving them high benefits compared to all socio-economic development options.

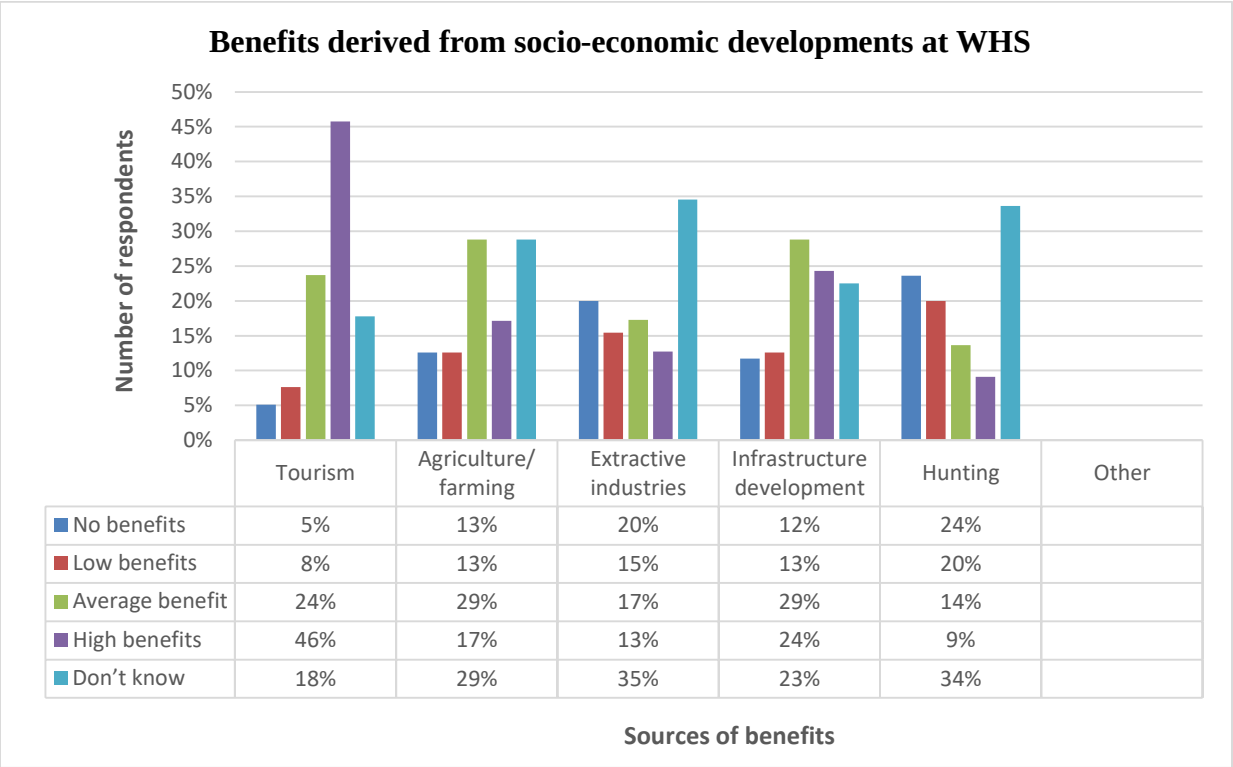
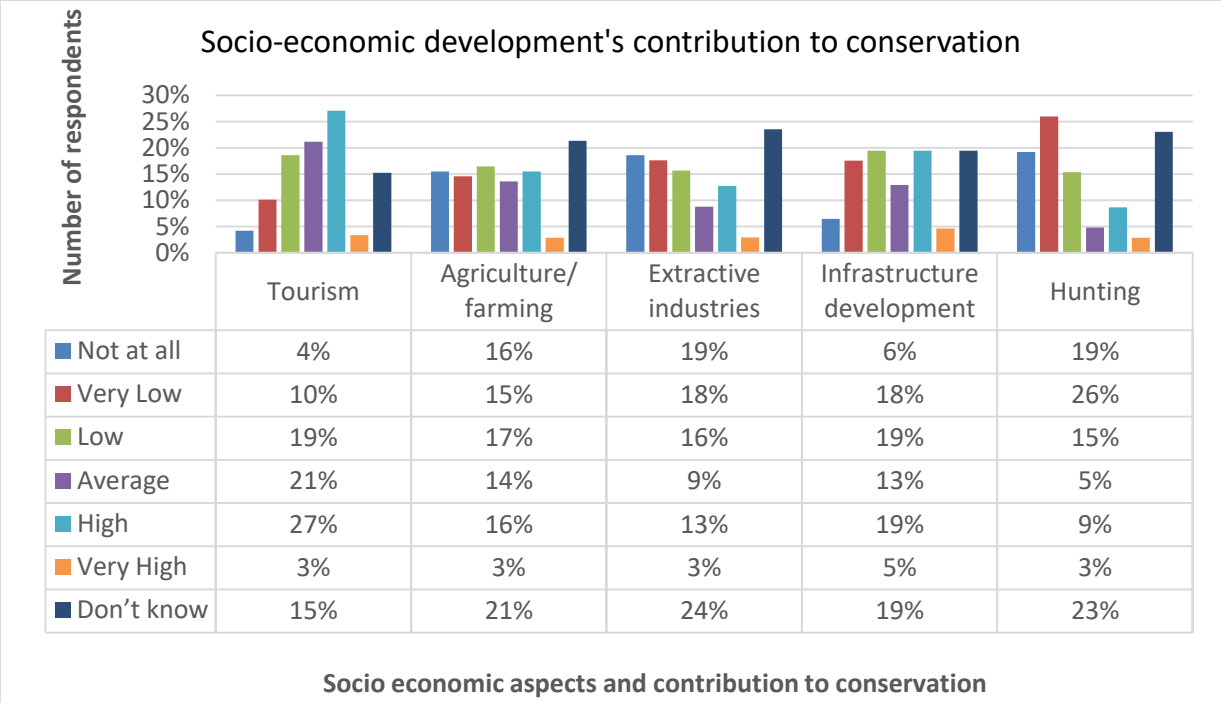


Figure 6.21: Respondent opinion on benefits of socio-economic development at MCLWHS

6.5.4.3: What is the level of contribution of the following socio-economic aspects to the protection and conservation of MCLWHS?

The overall ranking per each socio-economic aspect and its contribution to conservation (*question 4.4*) shows (figure 6.22) the following pattern for tourism is '*high'* (27%), 'while respondents '*don't know'* (21%) the contribution of for agriculture to conservation. Extractive industries is consider not contributing to conservation as its ranks '*not at all'* (19%), while Infrastructure was ranked as having '*high'* (19%) contribution to conservation. Last but not least, hunting is ranked as have '*very low'* (26%) contribution to conservation.

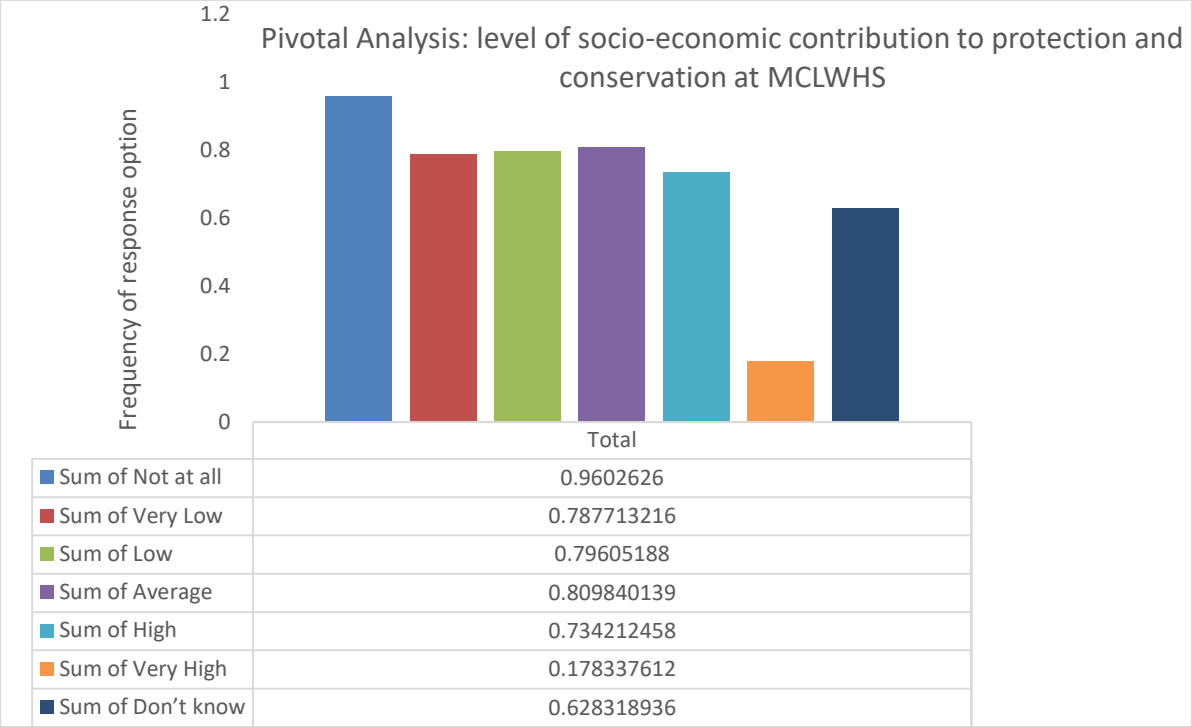


	Tourism	Agriculture/ farming	Extractive industries	Infrastructure development	Hunting
Not at all	4%	16%	19%	6%	19%
Very Low	10%	15%	18%	18%	26%
Low	19%	17%	16%	19%	15%
Average	21%	14%	9%	13%	5%
High	27%	16%	13%	19%	9%
Very High	3%	3%	3%	5%	3%
Don't know	15%	21%	24%	19%	23%

Figure 6.22: Respondent opinion on contribution of socio-economic development to the protection and conservation of MCLWHS

Based on the above pattern per each socio-economic aspect, Tourism has a '*high*' contribution (27%) to conservation at the site while the contribution of hunting is considered 'low' (26%). On the other hand, respondents '*don't know*' what agriculture (21%) and extractive industries (24%) are contributing in this process. As for infrastructure development, respondents are undecided among three variables '*low*' (19%), 'high' (19%) and 'don't know' (19%) contribution to the protection and conservation of MCLWHS.

Overall, and based on the pivotal analysis below (Figure 6.23), the majority of the respondents expressed that socio-economic activities do not contribute to the protection and conservation of MCLWHS: '*not at all'*.



	Total
Sum of Not at all	0.9602626
Sum of Very Low	0.787713216
Sum of Low	0.79605188
Sum of Average	0.809840139
Sum of High	0.734212458
Sum of Very High	0.178337612
Sum of Don't know	0.628318936

Figure 6.23: Pivotal analysis of the overall responses on the contribution of socio-economic development to the protection and conservation of MCLWHS

6.5.4.4 Comparative importance of benefits between conservation and socio-economic development at MCLWHS

Detailed analysis for each response option on the comparative benefits of conservation and socio-economic development (figure 6.24) shows the following highest ranking for conservation as '*very important*' (58%) and '*important*' (48%) for socio-economic development. Considering them both (*question 4.5)*, respondents ranked them as '*very important*' (56%). Therefore, the field survey opinion on what is more important between conservation and socio-economic development at MCLWHS shows that conservation is considered to be '*very important*' compared to socio-economic development which was ranked '*important'*. But when considered together 'both' conservation and socio-economic development are '*very important*' to stakeholders. This confirms that they need to be balanced in their implementation at the site.

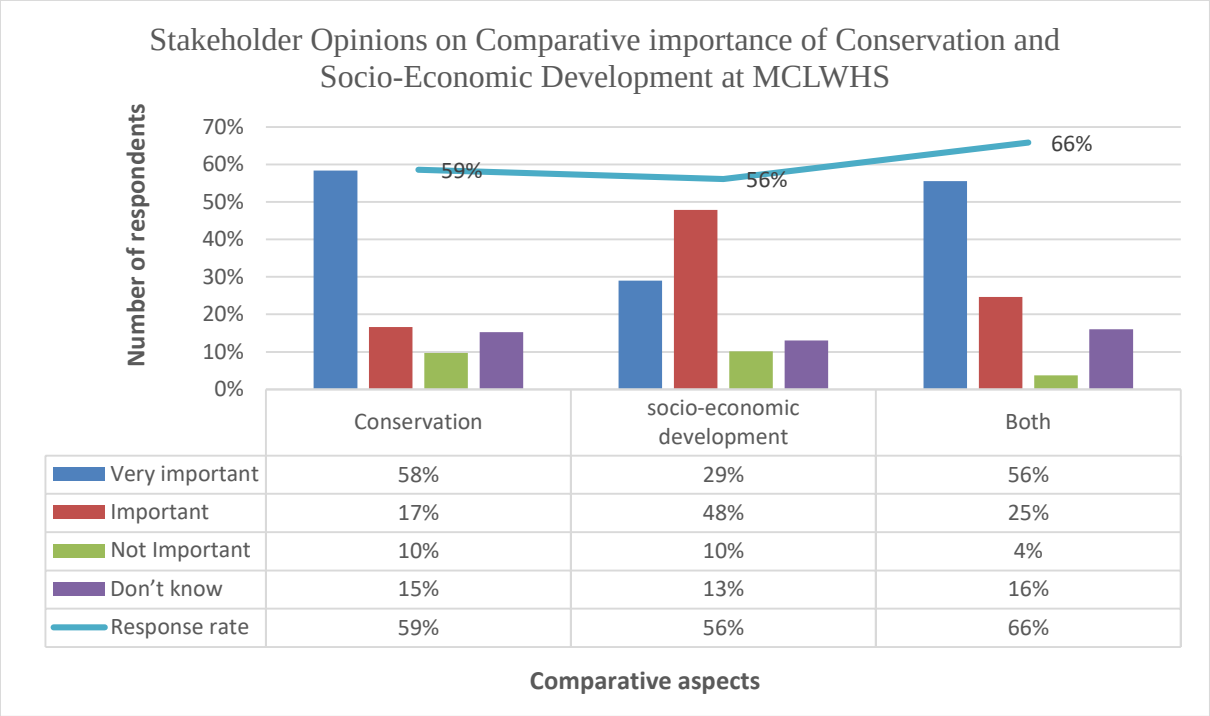


Figure 6.24: Stakeholders opinion on comparative importance of conservation and socio-economic development at MCLWHS

6.5.5 *Theme E*: Relationship between conservation and socio-economic development

This section summarises field survey results relating to the relationship between conservation and socio-economic development with an emphasis on: (i) how conservation and socio-economic development contribute to each other, (ii) whether conservation and socio-economic development should co-exist at the site, (iii) what kind of development should be allowed at the site, and (iv) how the economic value of heritage should be measured at MCLWHS.

6.5.5.1 Comparative analysis of the contribution of heritage and socio-economic development to each at MCLWHS

A detailed analysis of the field survey (q*uestion 4.6 and 4.7)* shows that respondents (figure 6.25) ranked the contribution of heritage to socio-economic development as: '*yes'* (80%), '*don't know'* (17%) and lastly '*no'* (3%). Regarding the contribution of socio-economic development to

conservation, respondents also ranked '*yes'* (71%), '*don't know'* (25%) and '*no'* (3%). In the overall, and on a comparative basis of the contribution of heritage and socio-economic development to each other, heritage contributes more to socio-economic development compared to the latter's contribution to the former.

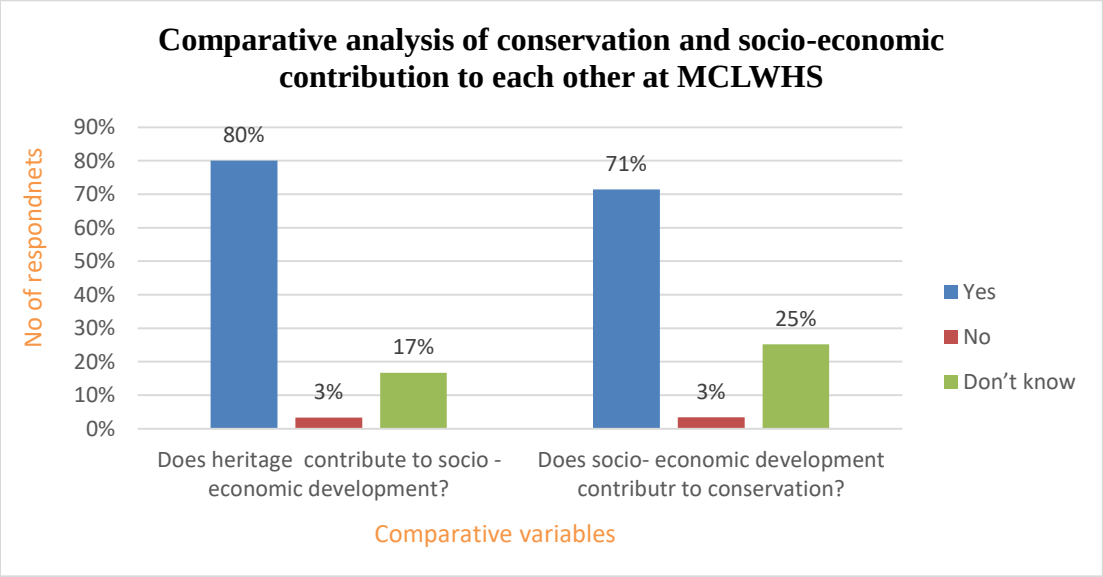


Figure 6.25: Comparative analysis of the contribution of heritage and socio-economic development to each other

6.5.5.2 Should conservation and socio-economic development co-exist at MCLWHS?

Responses (figure 6.26) to the question on whether conservation and socio-economic development should co-exist at the MCLWHS *(question 4.8)*, revealed that the majority of participants said '*yes*' (71%), followed by '*don't know*' (17%), '*not sure*' (11%) and '*no*' (1%). This confirms that conservation and socio-economic development should co-exist at MCLWHS.

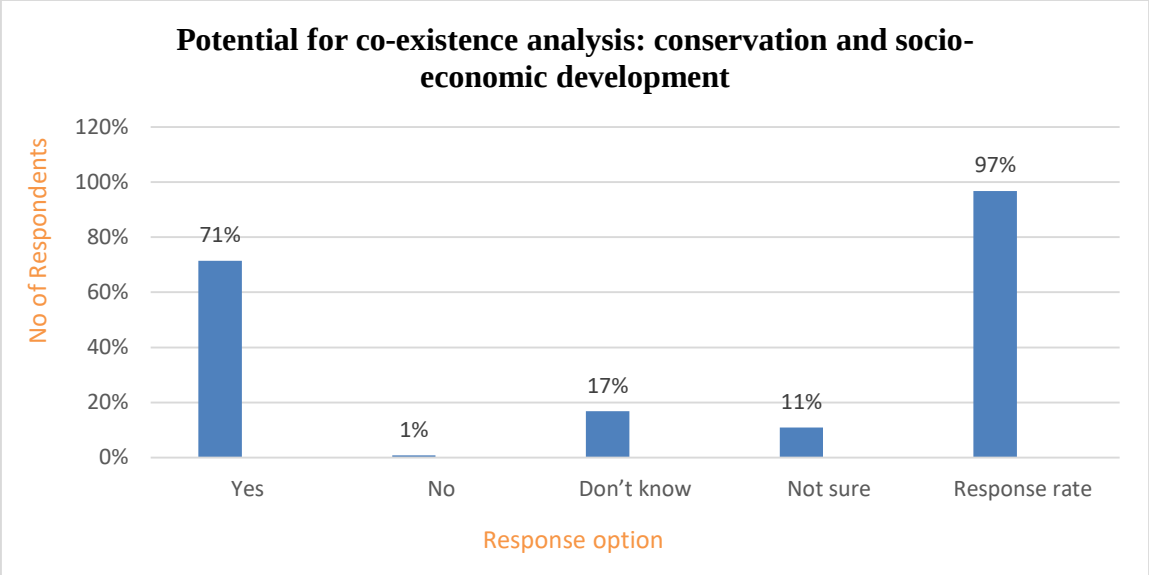


Figure 6.26: Chart showing potential for co-existence of conservation and socio-economic development at MCLWHS

6.5.5.3 Type of socio-economic developments that should be allowed at MCLWHS

On the kind of socio-economic development that should be allowed at the site (*question 4.9*), stakeholders ranked tourism as high with 71%, followed by infrastructure development (41%), agriculture (34%), human settlement (28%), dam constructions (17%), all (15%) and others (6%), (refer to figure 6.27). In this case 'all' refers to the options that had been provided as response options. In the overall, respondents pointed out that socio-economic development should be allowed at MCLWHS and tourism was considered as the most appropriate development compared to all other land use options.

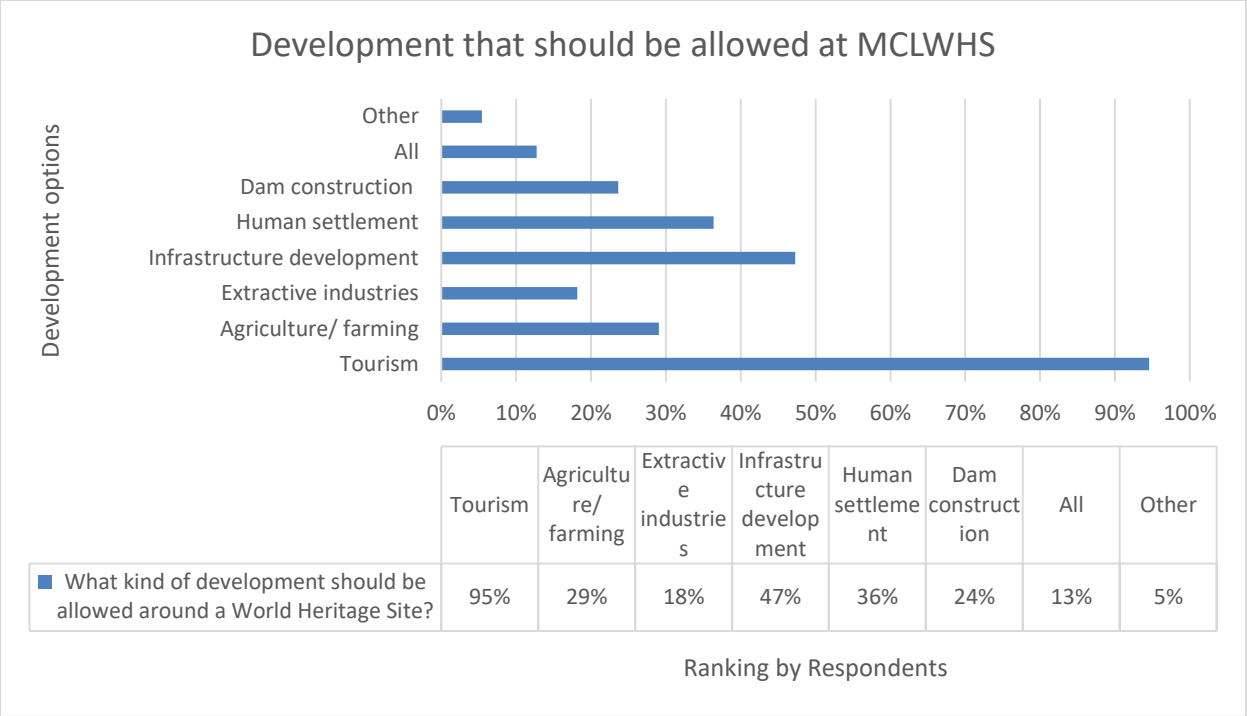


Figure 6.27: Types of socio-economic developments that should be allowed at MCLWHS

6.5.5.4 Measuring the contribution of heritage to the economy at MCLWHS

In response to how the contribution of heritage to the economy should be measured (*question 4.10),* the field responses (figure 6.28) revealed that the economic value of heritage should be measured using multiple indicators. Respondents ranked the indicators as: '*employment/jobs created*' (58%), '*level of conservation*' (50%), '*level of community development*' (49%), '*number of tourists*' (43%), '*contribution to gross domestic product*' (40%), '*number of business/investors*' (34%), '*infrastructure development*' (30%), '*return on investment*' (26%) and '*others*' (6%).

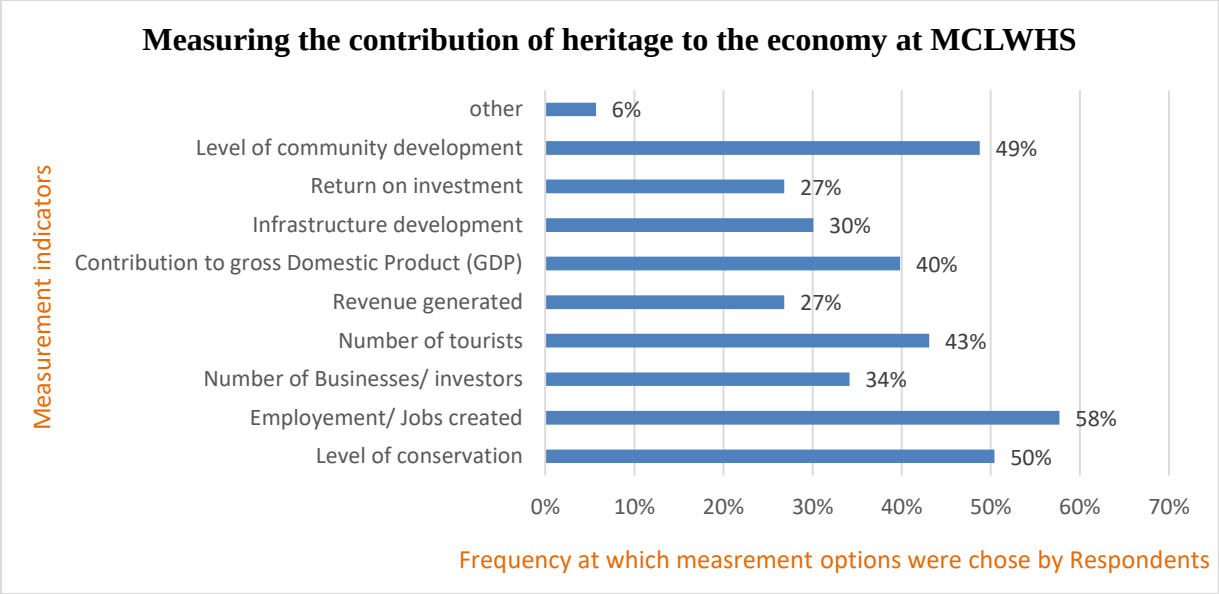


Figure 6.28: How economic value of Heritage should be measured at MCLWHS

6.6 Summary of field results on MCLWHS

The field results bring out perceptions, power-interest matrix, and influence capabilities on stakeholder-driven conservation and socio-economic development at MCLWHS. The emerging patterns form the basis of the discussion on stakeholder-driven conservation and socio-economic development at MCLWHS, presented in the next Chapter.

Chapter 7: Stakeholder-driven conservation and socio-economic development at MCLWHS

Summary

This chapter discusses the emerging issues relating to the stakeholder-driven conservation and socio-economic development processes at MCLWHS based on the research questions, objectives and results from the field surveys. The discussion focuses on stakeholder profiles at MCLWHS, stakeholders and management of heritage, stakeholders and socio-economic developments, comparative analysis of conservation and socio-economic development, as well as the opportunities and challenges for stakeholders at MCLWHS. The chapter argues that it is not adequate to just identify and acknowledge stakeholders without involving them in the decision making process at World heritage sites. It also argues there are less benefits for stakeholders accruing from conservation compared to those coming from broader socio-economic development initiatives at MCLWHS. The discussion also notes with concern that the localization of sustainable development goals (SDGs) at the site lacks an adaptive management approach geared towards providing local solutions to local challenges. From a futuristic perspective, the discussion concludes that an adaptive management approach is required to build on the emerging relationship between conservation and socio-economic development at World Heritage sites in developing nations. Both Multiple and Multi-layered Stakeholders Theory and sustainable development principles are recommended as catalytic processes of this adaptive management approach at World Heritage sites. in facilitating stakeholder-driven socio-economic development at World Heritage sites.

7.1 Introduction: contextualising the discussion

The objective of this research was to understand and solicit the views and opinions of stakeholders on the conservation and socio-economic development processes at MCLWHS. In this context, the research was aimed at identifying stakeholders and their roles in the decision-making process, understand their contribution to both conservation and socio-economic development, explore how they construct socio-economic values and reconcile conservation and development at MCLWHS

(Figure 7.1). These thematic pillars frame the discussion presented in this chapter towards understanding the stakeholder-driven conservation and socio-economic development processes at MCLWHS. The mixed methods approach used in this study allowed for the expression of alternative voices (multivocality) on the stakeholder-driven conservation and socio-economic development at MCLWHS.

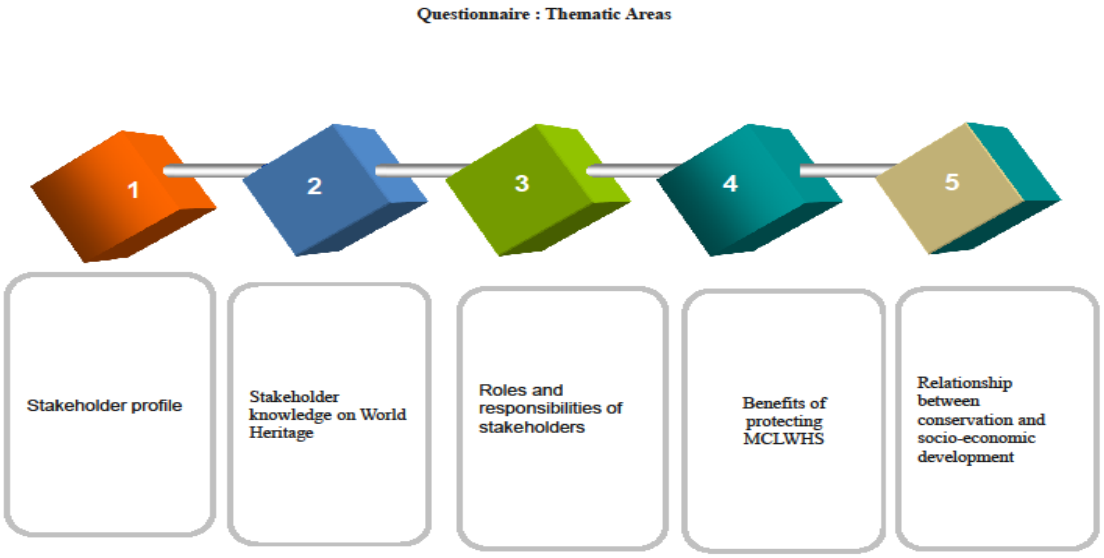


Figure 7.1: Five thematic questions for the research at MCLWHS

The brings forward empirical evidence on the perceptions of the multiple and multi-layered stakeholders at MCLWHS. This empirical evidence cannot be divorced from the historical evolution of this cultural landscape through time and the associated multiple land uses. The evolving multiple land uses of MCLWHS include conservation, extractive processes, intensive agriculture, private game farming/conservancies, urbanization in satellite townships (for example, Alldays), tourism, sacred landscapes and infrastructure development. These land uses amplify multiple voices advocating for socio-economic development to be implemented alongside conservation at the site. This is not to say the stakeholders are oblivious to threats on the site, especially those coming from socio-economic developments, but they want to sustain their livelihoods too. The research reinforces the view that the land use of MCLWHS is still-driven by conservation thinking. This thinking and practice is propelled by SBMS yet the site has other

alternative voices in the form of stakeholders identified in this study (chapter 4 and during fieldwork), who could be included in the governance processes at the site given their interest in socio-economic aspects of the same cultural landscape. It is in this context that the thesis argues for an inclusive and adaptive management approach at MCLWHS towards increasing the relevance of World Heritage to the local needs of stakeholders in the geographic areas where such sites are situated.

7.2 Stakeholder Profiles and Knowledge on MCLWHS

The first thematic area of this research was aimed at profiling stakeholders and their knowledge on World Heritage at MCLWHS. From a legal perspective, it is important to identify the roles played by the multiple and multi-layered stakeholders at MCLWHS. Based on the evaluation of the legislative provisions such as the NHRA of 1999, NEMPA, WHC and Operational Guidelines, the SAWHC of 1999 and other crosscutting legislations outlined in Chapter 5, it is clear that the concept of stakeholders is recent and gradually gaining momentum in practice in heritage governance. The combined 280 respondents involved in this research represent diverse stakeholder categories (Figure 8.2). These multiple and multi-layered stakeholders were identified on the basis of historiography and archival analysis, desktop surveys, cultural connections with the landscape, legislative mandates, land-uses and broader socio-economic framework of the site as a development node.

7.2.1 The Multiple and Multi-layered Stakeholders of MCLWHS

Based on the field surveys, the academics (28%) are the dominant stakeholder category at MCLWHS. This is followed by local communities (22%) and heritage institutions (16%). The dominance of the academics at MCLWHS is understandable given the domineering role academic institutions have played and continue to play at the site since colonial times (Carruthers, 2006; Nienaber *et al.,* 2008; Pikirayi, 2016). This domineering role surfaces in many consultative meetings relating to the site, and even IDCs have been complaining about it (Chirikure *et al.,* 2017). This has also heavily influenced the interpretation of the site, with an archaeological mind-set and narrative dominating at the expense of the spirituality of the place (Chirikure *et al.,* 2017;

Ndoro, 2017). The dominance of local communities may be accounted for by increasing interest and possibilities of reconnecting with the site through the spirituality and land claims. In regard to the dominance of heritage institutions in the top three stakeholder categories, it is expected given the cross-cutting regulatory framework of the site, including the vested national interests at the site by both national and provincial governments for various reasons and as enshrined in their mandates.

An interesting aspect of stakeholder profiling at MCLWHS is the dominating age profiles of respondents. The majority of stakeholders at MCLWHS were both below 18 years old (21%) and above 60 years old (21%). In the overall, the dominance of the 'below 18 age categories' shows that young people are now sensitized and interested in matters relating to conservation and socio-economic development at MCLWHS. It also confirms that future generations are now more conscious on what needs to be done towards securing the future of both. This emerging pattern could be attributed to the successful heritage education and outreach campaigns on the significance of MCLWHS and how socio-economic development is profiled in their academic curricula. They see the latter manifesting as tourism, agriculture and mining in the greater Mapungubwe area. MCLWHS has dynamic educational and outreach programmes targeting young people, especially from previously disadvantaged communities in the post-apartheid period. MCLWHS, just like any other National Park in South Africa, offers day programmes for primary and secondary schools for free or at a concessionary rate. One of the most popular programmes was the 'Kids in the Park Programme' jointly hosted by SANParks and Pick'n Pay 2004 (see Chapter 4). This also includes Environmental Educational Programmes administered by SANParks at MCLWHS.

Another programme which may explain the dominance of such young people at MCLWHS is the awareness created through the Annual National Park Week, which was officially launched by SANParks in 2006. The programme, borrowed from the United States and the United Kingdom, is dedicated to creating awareness about national parks and educating the public about the need and use of national parks in South Africa (SANParks, 2006). Through this programme, SANParks instils a sense of pride and educate the public on the importance in South Africa's natural, cultural and historical heritage within the national parks system. The programme also restores the status of national parks as centres of uniting the people of South Africa and of the world. From a socio-

economic perspective, the programme gives the public a better understanding of the business of national parks, while dispelling the current understanding that national parks are either places of tourism or khaki clad right-wingers (SANParks, 2006). Lastly, it gives the public a broader understanding of the custodianship role played by SANParks in conservation (SANParks, 2006).

During this week long programme, access to MCLWHS and guided tours are free for South African citizens (SANParks, 2006). The free tour is a process of enticing the public to know about heritage (Taruvinga, 2017). However, accommodation is not for free at all. The inaugural launch of this week long programme was supported by First National Bank (FNB) of South Africa. The programme also includes a musical festival held in Musina and dialogues at the site. Building awareness among intergenerational consumers of heritage, especially young people, should be prioritised at World Heritage sites in Africa. These programmes should continue to be offered in order to create accessibility but at the same time empower young people to become informed decision makers on World Heritage matters. The fact that both conservation and the catalytic process for socio-economic development, sustainable development, offer prospects for 'future generations', it is important to focus on young people in the contemporary as they are now the users for which these resources were being conserved.

7.2.2 Stakeholders Perceptions on Values of MCLWHS

Another important stakeholder profiling aspect is understanding what they consider to be of significance at MCLWHS. The research confirms that cultural heritage values (65%) are more important to stakeholders compared to all other values at MCLWHS. The interviews with the IDCs pointed out that, while the spirituality aspects have been ignored in the management of the site, it is what defines the character and nature of this cultural landscape, including its linkages with similar sites in Botswana and Zimbabwe. They strongly argue that this aspect needs to be considered in applying the value based approach in identifying stakeholders at MCLWHS. Educational values (with 52%). On the other hand, the educational values (52%) are the second most significant value at MCLWHS. This confirms the success of the educational and outreach programmes, the people and parks initiatives, including the culture week programme being implemented by SANParks at MCLWHS. This also explains why the age category of respondents

was more inclined towards young people at MCLWHS. Social (44%), Tourism (34%) and biodiversity (28%) values form the next layer of values ascribe to MCLWHS by stakeholders. These are largely linked to the tourism activities around MCLWHS, and possible how the site connects people of different backgrounds. The low ranking of agriculture, infrastructure and hunting signifies demonstrates how they value economic livelihoods at the site. For example, with agriculture, most of the people employed are from neigbhouring countries (Zimbabwe and Botswana) and are seasonal workers. Value of the Infrastructural developments and hunting are most likely linked to the low employment opportunities for the local communities.

What is interesting at MCLWHS is that extractive industries were ranked last. This is despite that the 2nd Cycle Periodic reporting on Africa, highlights extractive as an increasing activity with both positive and negative spin offs at World Heritage sites. MCLWHS has a long history of extractive industries, including recent ventures associated with the extraction of coal at the site. There could be more extractive processes in the future at MCLWHS. This is also a priority for Africa, through the AU Agenda 2063, aiming for internally-driven initiatives and self-sustenance for the continent. For MCLWHS, mining could have been lowly ranked due to the fact that stakeholders are not benefiting that much from their proceeds due to their short term nature. Most of the benefits and opportunities from extractive industries accrue to foreign countries investing their resources in developing nations. Interviews conducted with IDCs highlighted that, beneficiaries of extractive and related industries in the landscape remain as State Parties and their development partners (Chirikure & Taruvinga, 2017). This also includes the known negative impacts of mining at various levels, including on social perspectives. All this combined, may create challenges for extractive industries to be accepted by other stakeholders at MCLWHS.

7.2.3 Power-Interest Matrix and Stakeholders at MCLWHS

The net influence of the identified stakeholders lies in their interests, political and power relations among them which is critical in building the MMST approach at MCLWHS. These attributes are the anchors of stakeholder influence, thereby creating a local force that needs to find space in the governance of MCLWHS. In this context, SBMS Institutions, need to institutionalise MMST as a governance approach at MCLWHS. This will assist in transitioning governance of heritage sites

from the top-down approach ('Master is King') to the bottom-up approach ('Customer is King'). This bottom-up approach gives birth to the local-global nexus as argued through MMST in this study. The local-global nexus interconnects and permit interpenetration among stakeholders from a governance perspective at heritage sites. Also, the local-global nexus is in a constant mode of transition as stakeholder composition, interests and perceptions change through time and space. The paradox is that global processes cannot be conceived without local context, while local context cannot escape the global ideas (Levitt, 1983). MMST has the potential of addressing governance issues relating to conservation and socio-economic at World Heritage Sites. The stakeholders profiled at MCLWHS could be expressed in the context of MMST as shown below:

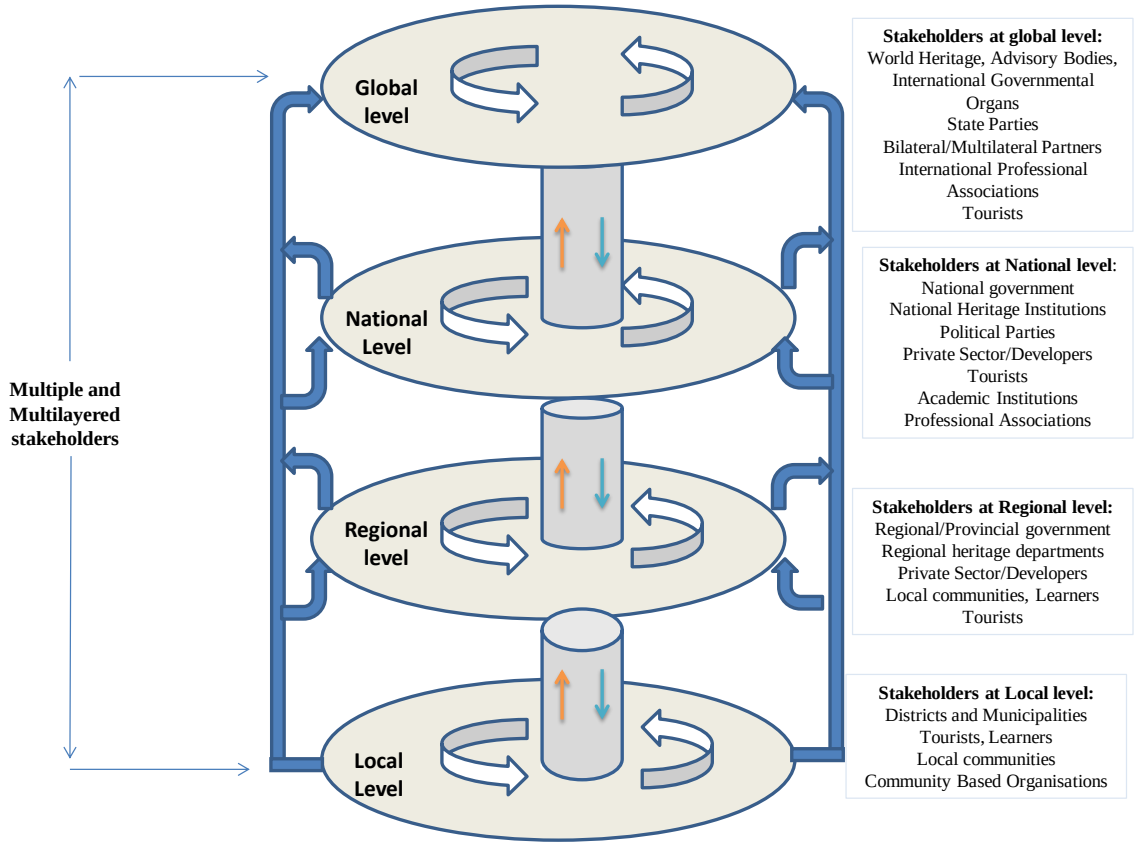


Figure 7.2: MMST: Local-Global nexus for MCLWHS (adapted from Deegan, 2012: Robertson, 1992: Milne & Ateljevic, 2001)

From the above, this study confirms the identified stakeholder categories at MCLWHS as proposed by the MMST (in chapter 3) and these are:

(i) **Stakeholders with 'universalized' interests, power and means to impose decisions at World Heritage sites in localities of development**. These stakeholders are at a global level and refer to UNESCO, World Heritage Committee and Advisory Bodies. These are intergovernmental organizations policing the implementation of the 1972 World Heritage Convention by State Parties. Their primary goal is to protect and maintain the Outstanding Universal Value of inscribed sites at the instigation of the respective State Party. The World Heritage Committee, being a State Party elected committee, engages with all other stakeholders indirectly via the State Parties to the 1972 World Heritage Convention or through a plethora of accredited individual experts representing Advisory Bodies. This is demonstrable at MCLWHS through the Reactive Monitoring Missions. Some of the experts sent out on such missions are not necessarily familiar with the local context of the World Heritage site they are advising on such as MCLWHS. These experts are not aware of the diverging local forces that should be taken into consideration in their recommendations. Being a scientist or expert with global perspective and experiences, does not necessarily mean you have the same threshold and understanding of local and geopolitical conditions of World Heritage sites in other countries or regions. This requires interfacing with the local with an open mind and with a viewing of learning to make informed decisions. Furthermore, such stakeholders are detached from the development context in which the World Heritage site is located (Meskell, 2011; Ndoro & Wijesuriya, 2015). Also, such universalized stakeholders use the top-down governance approach based on their scientific understanding of what needs to be corrected, irrespective of the views and needs at local levels. As such, scientific principles prevail in their 'internationalized' decision making processes, which suffocates any multivocality and approach to an inclusive and open governance approach. When MCLWHS was under discussion after mining licence for coal extraction was granted, the World Heritage Committee never made

any attempt to have for instance IDCs represented at its sessions at all to hear their own perspective.

(ii) **Stakeholders with 'nationalized' interest, power and means to make double-barrelled decisions at World Heritage sites in localities of development**. State Parties, national heritage departments and other state appointed authorities acting as the legal custodians of heritage resources fall into this stakeholder category. These stakeholders operate at national levels. At MCLWHS, these are mainly state-funded Institutions with power and resources to implement their own decisions: DEA, DAC, DMR, Provincial Government, SAHRA, SANParks among many other identified Provincial Government entities. These State-Based Management Systems represent the mandates of national governments (State Party) at MCLWHS. Even at international levels, these SBMS such as DEA represent all other stakeholders at World Heritage Committee sessions. They have even intensified this representation through bilateral and multilateral agreements signed with other State Parties (Meskell, 2011). Such representation role may be compromised especially if the 'State Party position' is at variance with that of the stakeholders they are supposed to be represent. Also, SBMS, such as DMR and their Agencies, are responsible for the exploitation of renewable and non-renewable resources as part of meeting targets arising from politically approved National Development Plans as part of localizing SDGs. They are not interested in cultural heritage issues at MCLWHS. This makes them take decisions favouring their own mandate.

Overall, SBMS represent their own mandates as directed by national government. This reinforces sense of national sovereignty, often expressed in policy and strategic announcements, state of nation addresses and election manifestos of the national governments. This defines the character and approach of this stakeholder category. The economic philosophy of South Africa, largely characterised by a mixed economy (capitalism and socialism) affects the economic, investment and ethical behaviour of these SBMS (Louw & Venter, 2013). While these stakeholders control the allocation of resources and legal environment at national levels, they are also amenable to local,

regional and international politics pertaining to South Africa, which may influence the nature and direction of their decision on a particular matter at MCLWHS. In this process, they manipulate their bi-lateral and multilateral agreements, as well as use political muscle for their own good at World Heritage Committee sessions (Meskell, 2011). During the discussion of MCLWHS by the World Heritage Committee, the State Party lobbied the Africa Group[6] and other developing nations for a favourable decision on the coal extraction. For instance, the State Party of the South Africa was at variance with the World Heritage Committee on the clear delineation of the MCLWHS boundaries at the time of inscription versus the maps submitted during discussions around the extraction of coal from the site. The Africa Group become an avenue for resolving the interpretation of the boundary, thereby discrediting the maps sourced by the Committee from a non-governmental organisation. The sourcing constituted a breach of Committee protocol as it is the responsibility of the State Party to submit such documentation not any third party stakeholder. As such, these stakeholders have dual voices and power either to align or not align with UNESCO, Advisory Bodies and Economic Blocks on heritage matters depending on whether the decision to be taken is in their favour or not. Sometimes they take drastic positions against decisions of the World Heritage Committee, such as threats of possible withdrawal from the 1972 World Heritage Convention. For example, Tanzania muted or threatened to use this option in the wake of the minor boundary modification to allow uranium extraction at Serengeti World Heritage site which was not being granted by the World Heritage Committee. It was only through political pressure and technicalities on boundary modification that a decision favourable to the State Party was taken. Tanzania even started questioning the rational of inscribing more sites on the World Heritage List if it was proving to be anti-development. The State Party further rallied African nations and those from other

[6] Africa Group: is a meeting of Permanent Delegates from Africa (as a region) to offer a regional input on matters relating to the implementation of the 1972 World Heritage Convention. During Committee Sessions, this meeting involves all other African State Parties to the 1972 World Heritage Convention, who are in attendance. The Group has become a rallying point advocating for favourable decisions on specific matter relating to its members. This does not mean they agree on every issue, nor do they circumivate interrogating the matters on hand in credible and consistent manner. Their difference on matters is resolved through dialogue towards attaining a favourable position for Africa. The meeting is often chaired by African State Party sitting in the World Heritage Committee to ensure regional input is transimitted during sessions.

continents supporting them during a side event in Paris via the Africa Group. In the end, all this multi-pronged approach induced a favourable decision for them.

iii. **Stakeholders with a 'localized' interest but without power to take decisions and implement them at World Heritage sites**. These stakeholders are mainly constituted by IDCs at MCLWHS in their multiple manifestations, traditional-based organizations and influential individuals who are part of the local community at MCLWHS. The IDCs are supposed to be the traditional custodians of MCLWHS, but were pushed out during the apartheid period. They either have traditional and ownership rights to the heritage sites due to their cultural connection, or proximity and association with site or the land itself through land claims. These are broadened to include any other community that was relocated to new areas in the past, but now have remote connections with the site. They operate at regional and local levels of the site, but they have no mandate over their own heritage. Also, these stakeholders have no power or resources to implement their own decisions or even to revoke decisions taken elsewhere that affect them. While these IDCs have cultural and social affinities to conservation, they are often represented and overshadowed by the SBMS on World Heritage related matters. This creates tensions when they have differing positions on such matters, especially in relation to socio-economic initiatives. While IDCs have been marginalized over the decades in decisions making at MCLWHS, they are now on the verge of wielding power vested through ownership of reclaimed land. This spells birth of political muscles to influence socio-economic development projects at heritage sites (Taruvinga, 2010).

(iv) **Stakeholders with interest and means to exploit renewable and non-renewable on resources at World Heritage sites as localities of development.** These includes private sector (extractive industries, commercial farmers, tourism operators), bilateral and multilateral development partners in their diversity at MCLWHS. These stakeholders consider that, any form of development using either cultural or natural resources, is based on the principle of profitability and sustainability (Taruvinga, 2010). These stakeholders argue that free economy allows them to initiate profitable socio-economic development

ventures if they are to assist national governments in meeting national development targets. They provide opportunities for job creation, poverty alleviation and infrastructure development among many others. On the other hand, these stakeholders use social corporate responsibility programmes as a strategy to create buy-in among other stakeholders, especially in relation to IDCs and learners, as was the case of Pick n Pay in supporting the latter at MCLWHS. While this approach is highly publicized by the private sector, the materiality of benefits accruing to communities varies from one initiative to another and is largely influenced by the prevailing political atmosphere of the time. Corruption has ensured that such benefits, which are supposed to accrue at grass roots level, end up in the hands of the few politically connected individuals. This has given birth to the concept of "*#StateCapture*" in South Africa.

Another challenge with these stakeholders who are supposed to apply the principles of sustainable development is that they often implement them half-heartedly in their quest to have a higher return on their investment within the shortest time and saving on capital outlay. In the overall, these stakeholders have 'borrowed power' from the State Parties who are their development partners. They also have 'financial capacity' to implement their own decisions, and even challenge legal decisions opposed to their interests at MCLWHS. This is to ensure that their businesses remain functional. This is what Coal of Africa did at MCLWHS after litigation brought forward by SBMS under the pressure of the Mapungubwe Coalition Group.

(v) **Stakeholders with 'non-legalized interests', but who have influential voice and means to influence conservation and socio-economic development decisions at World Heritage sites**. These stakeholders include professional associations and non-governmental organizations with interest in conservation matters at MCLWHS. These include ASAPA, Universities, the Mapungubwe Coalition Group, and various Environmental Lobbying groups among many other non-SBMS. Such stakeholders have both local and international interest over the site from a conservation perspective, while their appetite on development is defined by its nature and potential impact on heritage. This category of stakeholders puts pressure on all other stakeholders to uphold good conservation practices, and have the potential of

influencing decisions on conservation and development through intensive lobbying and litigations. MCLWHS is a special case in that University of Pretoria manages all collections excavated from the site. On the other hand, universities and research institutes wield power in research and building data banks that can become crucial in making strategic decisions in both conservation and socio-economic development at MCLWHS.

They are, however, not legally responsible for the survival of heritage, the voice of such stakeholders and their litigation approach forced State Party to reinforce its protectionist position. Their litigation approach often induce delays in the decision-making process through interim orders until their opinions are fully considered. This frustrates private sector and State Parties to a larger extent as litigation delays fruition of their investment and often results in financial losses as was the case of Coal of Africa at MCLWHS. IDCs often support them when it comes to the protection of their heritage., but are not part of the decision making processes.

The above stakeholders are not limited to the above as new players are always emerging through time. As such, World Heritage governance has to continuously involve the emerging normative, instrumental and descriptive stakeholders in the decision making process. This thesis advocates for an inclusive stakeholder governance model that promotes dialogue, decision making and stakeholder-driven solutions challenges of conservation and socio-economic development at World Heritage site. World Heritage governance should be a function of both conservation and socio-economic development opportunities in areas where the site is situated. This is because the relationships among stakeholders are largely influenced by how they relate to conservation and socio-economic development opportunities at heritage sites. This thesis argues that MMST offers such a governance framework within which to manage these dynamic relations, especially in areas where there is history of conflict or mistrust among stakeholders (Louw & Venter, 2013). This is the case of MCLWHS. While this study acknowledges the complexity and intricate relationships among stakeholders at MCLWHS, it also argues that engaging all of them is beneficial towards bringing conservation closer to the broader socio-economic realm of developing nations. Involving them, is a way of raising awareness on the significance of heritage and how it is a strategic fit in socio-economic development through an adaptive management process. This study argues that all affected and interested stakeholders be given an equal and fair opportunity via the *local-global*

nexus of MMST to voice their own perspective (alternative voices) before communally binding decisions are taken and implemented by SBMS. Heritage institutions need to play a catalytic role in this process as opposed to defending their dictatorial (legalistic) and compliance approach when dealing with stakeholders. This is critical in guaranteeing the future of World Heritage sites situated in ever changing socio-economic environment of the site, especially in developing nations. The World Heritage governance framework should respond to the needs of society but at the same time conserving the cultural resources.

The study set out to test the applicability of the proposed theoretical framework MMST. Based on the results of this study, it is clear that the assertions of the MMST are confirmed and can be used at World Heritage Sites. MMST brings together views, perceptions, interests, rights, power and ability of multiple and multi-layered stakeholders. It also has the ability to increase dialogue among stakeholders, thereby promoting stakeholder-driven processes on conservation and socio-economic development at World Heritage sites. MMST also highlights the importance of local perspectives in holistically managing heritage, including its perceived role and function in socio-economic development. These local perspectives are powerful forces that should influence decisions at World Heritage sites towards meeting both conservation and broader social aspirations of local communities. The protection of heritage in Africa lies in the concerted effort of all stakeholders given its cross-cutting implications on improving livelihoods (Munjeri, 2004). SBMS, in particular Heritage institutions, should improve their legal, ethical, and philanthropic responsibilities towards stakeholders by giving multivocality an opportunity to influence decision making processes. They should also guarantee the level of power and legitimacy of multiple and multi-layered stakeholders in the governance process at World Heritage sites. This can only be through an inclusive framework, will allow creativeness and innovation in integrating the two (Chirikure, 2013).

While the MMST, helps in creating a ‘responsive’ local-global nexus for the benefit of World Heritage sites, conflict among stakeholders is inherent and inevitable. This aspect remains as an unexplored potential of the MMST in mitigating the conflict between conservation and socio-economic development. Conflict resolution should be an in-built mechanism in the governance of World Heritage sites, especially in view of the competing needs of conservation and socio-

economic development. Conflict resolution mechanisms are also important, given the diversity of stakeholders and their interests. This thesis further recommends that research in this area be conducted in the future as part of solidifying the MMST approach in resolving ensuing conflicts at World Heritage sites. Without the support of stakeholders, State-funded institutions risk running 'sole operations' not benefiting the society. In the overall, MMST allows for the understanding of the correlation between conservation and socio-economic development as a stakeholder-driven process at World Heritage sites. It also enables State Parties to the 1972 World Heritage Convention to identify and manage both present and future stakeholder relationships towards achieving collaborative outcomes from diverse interests.

At a cumulative level, the emerging multiple and multi-layered stakeholders at MCLWHS denotes increasing multivocality at heritage sites. These alternative voices are now challenging the wholesale concept of conservation and the 'conservative' approach on the use of renewable and non-renewable resources at heritage sites. The World Heritage decision-making framework needs an urgent paradigm shift that will make it more appealing to developing nations against increasing tensions over its rigidity when it comes to socio-economic development. This confirms the assertion by the Charter for African Cultural Renaissance, which recognizes that heritage has a "significant number of non-institutional actors" who "are instrumental in cultural development", and these include "designers, private developers, associations, local governments and the private sector (Part III: Article 11)".

However, heritage awareness at MCLWHS needs to be decolonized from the archaeological and nature perspectives as a stakeholder driven process. This should involve IDCs as creators and transmitters of their own experience at MCLWHS. While this is gaining momentum at other World Heritage sites, the initial focus on environmental education by SANParks at MCLWHS introduced a biased educational programme highlighting the importance of biodiversity. Educational programmes involving cultural aspects at MCLWHS started on a slower pace owing to the fact that culture as a discipline was only accepted at a later stage in Protected Areas. In addition, the emphasis on previously disadvantaged communities needs to be reviewed, as in the long term it may reinstate preferential treatment principles of apartheid by favouring those who were once marginalized, at the expense of promoting balanced treatment of future generations. The point of

the matter is that during apartheid, the privileged members of the society would have been exposed to heritage values that reinforced them as the superior race without understanding the history of the marginalized, which is now being highly profiled. Heritage sites should be made accessible to all, irrespective their past privileges as part of nation building and social cohesion in South Africa. Deconstruction of history, heritage values and notions of social cohesions requires re-orientation and inclusive decolonized interpretations. Both, the previously favoured and disadvantaged, should benefit from the decolonization process towards redefining heritage as the pillar of nationhood, tolerance with each other, diversity of cultures and its catalytic role in enabling socio-economic development for the benefit of all. Preferential treatment of previously disadvantaged communities, should not remain in perpetuate.

Another interesting aspect emerging from the identification process of stakeholders at MCLWHS is that it is a complex process riddled with contestations, counter-claims and changing narratives and envisaged roles linking them to the site, especially in the context of IDCs. The diversity and contestations among IDCs of the MCLWHS are very visible, yet this could be used as an opportunity to foster an effective stakeholder approach at the site. Contestations are also important in that they allow for the investigation of the truth, thereby correcting the distorted and changing narratives of IDCs. What is needed is a conflict resolution strategy but without losing the objective of turning contestations into opportunities for improving governance at the site. This approach also streamlines the process of identifying IDCs and their respective roles at World Heritage sites. The contestations also offer an opportunity to 'build unity in diversity' among the IDCs of MCLWHS due to the commonality of their experiences and interests.

7.2.4 Summary of Stakeholder perspectives

In the overall, young people are more interested in MCLWHS followed by those above 60 years in the myriad of the multiple and multi-layered stakeholders identified in this study. Their combined expectations are that cultural and educational values should be prioritised in the management of the MCLWHS. This does not mean that all other values are of less importance in the process, but it could be possibly that stakeholders are looking at areas where they may receive a recognition and value benefit at the site. A closer review of the management imperatives of

MCLWHS shows that, currently, natural values are prioritised over cultural values from budgeting and technical perspective. Even with tour offerings at MCLWHS, nature dominates in numbers, including the pricing structure of SANParks, while heritage tours are confined to two per day. The heritage tours include visiting the Interpretation Centre, the Mapungubwe Hill and, on a lucky day, some of the rock art sites in the landscape. Mapungubwe Hill is naturally inaccessible to physically challenged individuals, and largely requires a four-wheel drive vehicle due to the terrain and nature of gravel roads. As such, cultural values remain of low priority in the budgeting process and human resources of protected areas in South Africa. Cultural values are at the core of stakeholders at MCLWHS and should thus be prioritized by SANParks in order to enhance their brand and diversify products offered to the public.

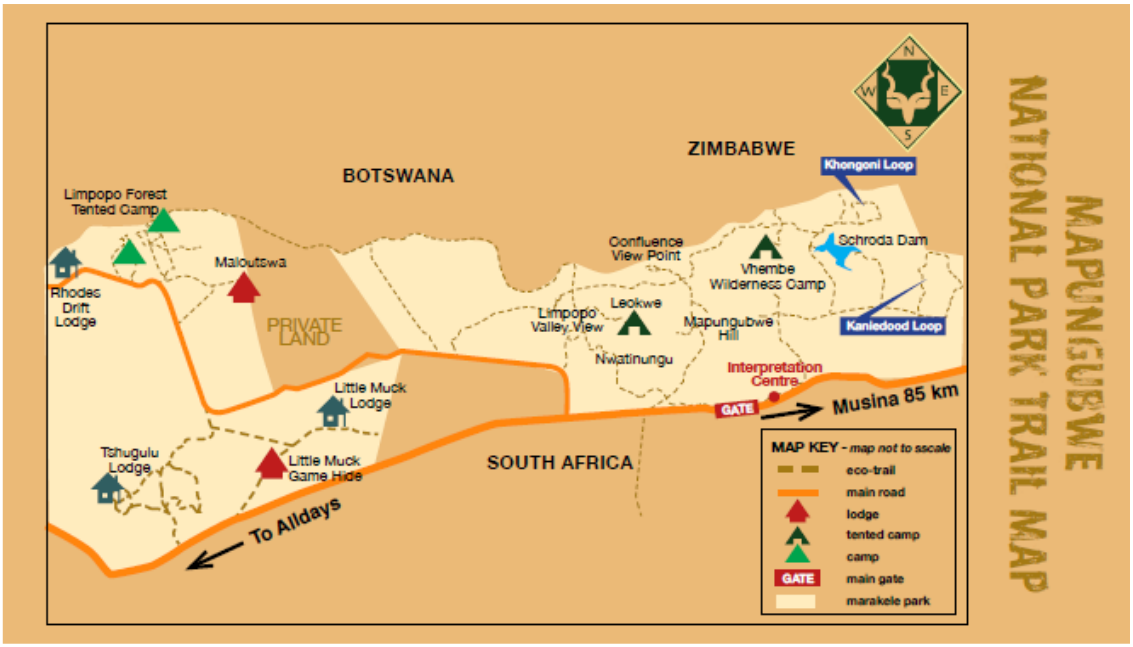


Figure 7.3: MCLWHS Trail Map (SANParks 2017)

The emphasis of cultural values brings IDCs to the fore of stakeholdership at MCLWHS. Another interesting observation relating to IDCs is that their identification and involvement is now strongly linked to socio-economic prospects they visualize at MCLWHS. Land use as a method for identifying stakeholders at MCLWHS demonstrated effectiveness but suffers from the fact that ownership of the land can change hands at any time, thereby reducing chances of consistency on

agreed management and use imperatives. The identification process and determining roles of stakeholders, and empowering them should be sensitive to the passage of time and aspirations in the ever changing local context of the World Heritage sites. Empowerment is broadly viewed as "a shift in balance between the powerful and the powerless, between the dominant and the dependent (Cole, 2007:4). It is also regarded as a participative and developmental approach to local decision making (YuLong & Hunter, 2015: Maton, 2008). Through this approach, communities acquire rights and greater control over their lives and environment (YuLong & Hunter, 2015; Maton, 2008; Cole, 2006).

However, the legislative-based stakeholders such as SANParks, SAHRA, DAC, DEA, DMR and many other government entities have varying and sometimes conflicting mandates at the site. The location and function of MCLWHS in its four-tier status accounts for this scenario. The silo approach, like the cases of DEA and DMR contradicting each other publicly on the mining activities of MCLWHS, is a clear demonstration that governance of public entities is a show of legal and administrative powers, but serves the same society. An old and universal adage states that "when two elephants fight, it is the grass that suffers". The elephants refer to departments representing the State Party, while grass represents stakeholders without power and legitimacy in the governance process. Such stakeholders become losers or are forgotten until the elephants are tired or when an 'ant' called politics decides to chase one of them in favour of a stakeholder-driven initiate benefiting either the State Party or local communities. While it is easy to identify these legal based stakeholders, it is very difficult for them to accommodate each other in offering sustainable solutions to stakeholders-driven initiatives. In addition, the review of heritage legal instruments (which has been slow in coming) has deliberately omitted or remained cautionary on the institutionalization of stakeholder participation, especially defining their respective roles in the governance structures of heritage sites.

7.3 Stakeholders and Management of MCLWHS: roles and responsibilities

Identification of the Multiple and Multi-layered Stakeholders at MCLWHS is not an end in itself as one needs to understand their roles and responsibilities in the decision making process at the site, the resources they provide for conservation and the benefits of their involvement in the overall

governance process. Governance approach remains a strategic aspect of managing the stakeholder-driven conservation and socio-economic processes at MCLWHS. This section discusses the views of the identified stakeholders on this matter in relation to MCLWHS.

7.3.1 Stakeholders and their Involvement at MCLWHS

The research sought to find out whether stakeholders are in involved or not in the management of MCLWHS. The three individual questions asked to all respondents on this aspect show that the majority of stakeholders (46%) are generally involved in the management of the site, but on the other hand, 42% of them are not familiar with the management plans for MCLWHS, while another 50% did not know whether the management plan of MCLWHS is effective in protecting the site. This seemingly contradictory emerging pattern could be linked to the fact that stakeholders such as extractive industries, commercial farmers and the tourism sector are closely consulted and involved due to their land uses at the site, but are not necessarily involved in the governance of the site. Hence, they would be involved on a daily basis or in monitoring the effectiveness of management plans. The academia at MCLWHS may have influenced the results given their long history of research and how they are strategically involved to push the conservation agenda by the Management Authority.

The lack of familiarity with the management plans by Stakeholders (42%) can be explained by the physical disconnection between the site and many stakeholders, who do not have resources to attend meetings, except when it is paid for by SANParks as part of consultation process. Online consultations are equally inaccessible due to costs related to internet connectivity. For instance, learners are never consulted in this process. The public consultative approach used by SBMS do not necessarily create a sense of involvement and ownership of the management plans by the stakeholders. This also explains why stakeholders do not know the effectiveness of these management plans at MCLWHS. Stakeholders cannot assess the effectiveness of what they do not know, how it is planned for (planning processes) and how it is being implemented, which is only a privy to SANParks as a management authority Management Authority. However, the sum-average pivotal analysis (Figure 7.4) of all potential responses for the three sub-questions asked showed that respondents ranked response options as yes (1.2), no (0.9) and don’t know (0.8).

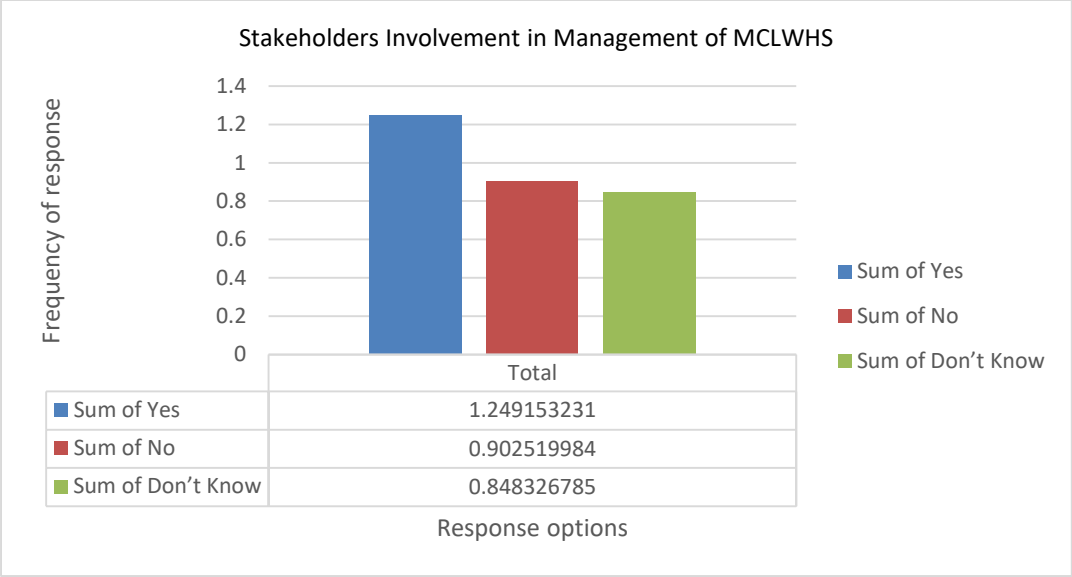


Figure 7.4: Sum average response of Stakeholders on their role in management of MCLWHS

This generally shows that the majority of stakeholders are involved with the management of the site in one way or another but more work needs to be done in this area to improve ranking across the critical aspects of their involvement. This scenario at MCLWHS reflects how SANParks only involves stakeholders at managing issues at the site through consultations (Park Forums) rather involving them in the development, implementation and evaluation of the effectiveness of the management plans as a continuous process. Stakeholder involvement should not only be reduced to compliance with relevant laws through ticking boxes that it was done. The development of management plans should go beyond to embrace the views and opinions of stakeholders at MCLWHS.

For instance, and while the Park forum appears to be used as the mouthpiece for informing stakeholders about critical issues at MCLWHS, the level and nature of stakeholder consultations needs to be reviewed to ensure all stakeholders are involved from the beginning to the end. This includes establishing a special vehicle or forum, for instance to cater for the needs of IDCs which may be different from all the other stakeholders. Currently, all other stakeholders are tuned to responding to the crisis management mode of SANParks when their voices are needed on issues affecting them at the site. Making stakeholders get accustomed to crisis management mode is not

the best way of involving them in the management process. Such an approach lacks consistency and transparency. Creating stakeholder buy-in means privileging them with access to your governance opportunities and sharing challenges in a transparent and consistent manner. For instance, people centred approaches promote good governance practices which are supposed to promote transparency. Understandably, MCLWHS was only inscribed in 1999, making it one of the relatively newest World Heritage sites compared to some sites in other African countries. These people centred approaches and good governance practice are still emerging, but MCLWHS can build on their People and Parks Programme to offer real engagement and involvement opportunity to their stakeholders in the governance of the site. MCLWHS should dilute the rigidity of Protected Areas approach, which is widely known for deliberately and effectively sidelining stakeholders since colonial times (Nicholson, 2003).

The results of the study demonstrate that State Parties and Intergovernmental organizations (UNESCO, Advisory Bodies, etc.) are still in control of the governance processes of MCLWHS at the exclusion of all other stakeholders. This is a widespread phenomenon at World Heritage sites in Africa, which needs to be corrected (Donnacie, 2010; Meskell, 2011; 2012). For instance, inscription of sites on the World Heritage List is largely a function of State Parties with the support of scientists and political appointees serving as their permanent delegates to UNESCO. Stakeholders, such as IDCs, are not directly represented in World Heritage processes. They are only engaged through well calculated consultative meetings at various stages of implementing the 1972 World Heritage Convention by the State Parties (Meskell, 2012). At World Heritage Committee meetings, stakeholders are represented by State Parties and the question is, are their aspirations fully represented? For example, at MCLWHS it is clear that stakeholders such as IDCs were not involved in the establishment of the national park, the inscription and the delineation of the core area and buffer zone of the World Heritage site. This process was privy to the State Party and academic experts. Therefore, decisions are often taken unilaterally without much consideration of the input from other stakeholders.

While socio-economic developments taking place at MCLWHS are stakeholder-driven processes, State Parties and their administrative machineries still want to have the last say on the nature and format of these developments. Sometimes, stakeholders demand audience with the World Heritage

Committee, given that State Parties are often seen as driving socio-economic development in the shadows of conservation (Meskell, 2013b) but with limited benefits accruing to IDCs. In the absence of adaptive approach, heritage governance reduces other stakeholders to becoming perpetual observers, which does not guarantee that their input will be considered in the decision making process at MCLWHS. In addition, consultation is considered to be synonymous with consent by those in power, even when stakeholders have not agreed to any preferred position. Decision makers abuse attendance registers as proof of this consent rather than records of minutes, from which stakeholder positions can be deduced from. It is clear that attendance registers are no longer sufficient to prove that stakeholders have been consulted when their actual 'opinion' is not reflected in the decision making process at the site.

7.3.2 Roles and Responsibilities of Stakeholders in the Governance of MCLWHS

The study sought to understand how the multiple and multi-layered stakeholders of MCLWHS value their own roles and responsibilities in governance of the site from both theoretical and empirical perspectives. Theoretical perspective was meant to assess their perceptions if they are given a chance to influence the governance processes, while empirical perspective focused on what is actually happening on the ground.

7.3.2.1 Stakeholder and Conservation decision making: Theoretical perspective

From a theoretical perspective, the study revealed that stakeholders would consider their roles in the decision-making process at MCLWHS as 'very important' and 'important'. Only fewer stakeholders considered it would be extremely important. The overall interpretation of this is that stakeholders have realized that they need to be involved in the decision making around conservation at WHS but they are also conscious of the power SBMS are still wielding in this area. Their envisioned participation is meant to safeguard their varied interests at MCLWHS as an area with multiple renewable and non-renewable resources. The expression by stakeholders echoes the need for SBMS at MCLWHS to move beyond the consultative processes they use at the moment. A member of the South African World Heritage Convention Committee, Du Preez highlighted that there is a need to look deeply into the relationship between the World Heritage sites and

surrounding communities (DEA, 2013). Du Preez was commenting on the level of consultation conducted regarding the State of Conservation at MCLWHS in 2013 (DEA, 2013). This realization should be considered as a way of bridging cooperation between conservation and socio-economic development as a two-way corridor: firstly, one corridor represents a seemingly a blocked space of conservation represented by State Parties and their Management Authorities at World Heritage sites. Second, the other corridor represents space with stakeholders who 'desire' to be involved in the decision making process at World Heritage sites in order for them to safeguard their interests, which maybe at variance with those of the Management Authorities. Theoretically, what separates the two, is the governance model of SBMS and their approach as different stakeholders in the same space. This governance barrier between the two walls needs to be collapsed in order for all involved stakeholders to 'relate on mutually beneficial terms'. 'Desiring' and 'relating' by the two should be negotiated through a transparent and inclusive stakeholder governance framework. Realisation of this approach should not remain as a pipe line dream constrained by legal prescripts characterizing heritage governance at the moment.

7.3.2.2 Stakeholder and Conservation decision making: Empirical perspectives

Reducing the above into what is actually happening on the ground revealed that stakeholder influence on conservation decisions is between average and low at MCLWHS yet it is one of the first sites inscribed against a wave of a highly hyped democracy in the World. South Africa had just gained independence from the Dutch driven apartheid governance system. The average-low influence confirms that political democracy does not necessarily translate into democratizing heritage governance frameworks in Africa. On the question relating to whether stakeholders are consulted and involved in the implementation of national and international legislation at MCLWHS, the predominant answer was also that they were and are not consulted. The few that are involved are motivated by their commitment and professional stake at MCLWHS. Contrary to this, when it come to the extent in which local communities are involved, only 50% of the stakeholders were in the affirmative. In addition, the dominance of education (63%) and socio-economic development (37%) ahead of conservation is interesting. This could possible mean multiple things: conservation has been successful to the extent that society is realizing the educational benefit of doing so; or conservation has reached resilience point or a level that socio-

economic benefits should be brought to the same level; or stakeholders are now more concerned with dealing with their immediate socio-economic needs but do not know how to do it at MCLWHS in the absence of a governance opportunity. The last one is likely to be closer to the truth as the once 'future generation' has become the 'active generation' of today and is looking for the realization of the promises made to them in the name of conservation before their prime time passes on and before the next in-waiting 'future generation' comes into the space.

The empirical pattern of average involvement of stakeholders at MCLWHS could also be attributed to multiple reasons. Firstly, and as a post-colonial phenomenon, the concept of 'technocrats' being more superior than any other stakeholders has dominated conservation practices (Ndoro & Wijesuriya, 2015). Scientists know it all and are the embodiment of conservation as they are empowered through legislation, westernized education curricula and conservation protocols. Second, technical decisions are made in the absence of all other stakeholders by SBMS such as SANParks when they sit in their boardrooms. The main objective of such decisions is to retain the significance and/or outstanding universal values of a heritage site. Other stakeholders are only informed when needs arises and they are supposed to buy-in rather than participating in the decision making process. These stakeholders have no power and resources to try and stop a moving goods train for the views and opinions to be heard. This scenario ends up creating tensions and conflicts among stakeholders. Third, communities being the creators and custodians of the heritage, have long been relocated to other areas during colonial times and this creates accessibility problems for them (Pikirayi, 2016). They cannot afford the costs associated with accessing the site on a regular basis. On the hand, SBMS provide very limited support for this cause citing limited budgets from central government, when in actual fact are taking advantage of this inaccessibility and associated costs for their own benefit. Conservation should not remain in the realm of modern science only, as stakeholders, in particular IDCs, have a major role to play especially in terms of spirituality and sacredness of landscapes such as MCLWHS through TBMS. This applies to other stakeholders who equally bring wealth of experience and resources not necessarily available at World Heritage sites.

A good example of this is how ex-political prisoners have become influencers of decisions at Robben Island World Heritage site, Cape Town (Western Cape, South Africa). For instance, the

decision to use the cricket pitch for the installation of photovoltaic solar panels in order to reduce dependence on diesel-generated power was influenced by the social memory of EPPs at Robben Island World Heritage site. Three location options were on the table; the agriculture precinct (commonly known as the hydroponics area), the cricket pitch and the area close to the village precinct of the Island. The area close to the village precinct was not suitable due to its limited size, its proximity to the tourist route, and the fact that it has become a favourite breeding-ground for birds. The agricultural precinct had limitations in that it was close to the lime quarry site and was within the perimeter of the Maximum Security Prison, and more importantly ex-political prisoners had worked in this area during their incarceration at Robben Island. The third possible location for the installation was the cricket pitch behind the administration office and became the preferred installation site.

In order to make a decision on the preferred location, the social memory of ex-political prisoners that played a crucial role. During interviews conducted for the Heritage Impact Assessment, the ex-political prisoners confirmed that they had never used or worked at this site during their time as prisoners on the island. The pitch was a reserve of the apartheid perpetrators who used to look after the prisoners. In other words, while the entire landscape is important to them, they have no particular emotional attachment and connection with this particular space compared to the quarry sites and the agriculture area where they used to work as prisoners. To the ex-political prisoners, the cricket pitch could be sacrificed for the benefit and sustenance of the site. Given their non-interaction with this location during prison times, ex-political prisoners had no difficulties in endorsing the installation site as it was not going to compromise any of their values. They even went further and stated that the Management Authority of the site should use the savings from these installations to support heritage programmes that have been underfunded for many years.

While some people could look at selection of the cricket pitch for photovoltaic solar plant as obliteration of hurtful landscapes at the site, the bottom line is that local values and views of IDCs can be a game changer in balancing conservation and development from a well-structured governance approach such as MMST. This project, also approved through all permitting systems for EIAs and HIAs in South Africa, has not dramatically altered the landscape given its proximity to a number of buildings in that area. Should the need arise, the plant can be removed and the space

rehabilitated back to the pre-construction era. In addition, indigenous plants have been propagated at the site to create a comfoluge in the long term.

At another level and also as an example, the discovery of archaeological sites during mining explorations, and how these mining companies have supported documentation, rescue excavations, relocation exercises and many other initiatives should not be treated as incidental. These contributions assist in making decisions around conservation at heritage sites. For instance, NAMDEB, a mining giant in Namibia, halted diamond extraction on the shores of Oranjemund to allow for the proper rescue of a shipwreck (Chirikure & Ndoro, 2009). The collections rescued are now the foundation of an Interpretation Centre in Namibia (Chirikure & Ndoro, 2009). Parallel to this, conservation works were initiated to conserve the recovered artefacts. But all this started with the decision of an informed stakeholder, who made both conservation and development winners at the end of the day. MCLWHS is not an exception given that mining companies have immensely contributed to research, documentation, management plans and scholarship which has benefitted the site and society. Extractive industries avail financial resources that are often scarce from State Parties. Therefore, continuing to focus on the negative aspects of extractive industries without quantifying their contribution to conservation is injustice to the spirit of stakeholdership and governance at sites such as MCLWHS. This area needs further research at World Heritage sites in Africa to ascertain benefits beyond the traditionally known negative impacts of extractive industries.

7.3.3 Stakeholder and Resources Mobilization for conservation at MCLWHS

This study reveals that, overall, most stakeholders (25%) do not provide resources for the management MCLWHS. Another 20% are not sure whether they do or not provide such resources. This contradicts how 46% of the stakeholders claim to be involved in the management of MCLWHS in one way or another as argued in the previous section (see 7.3.2). Theoretically, when a stakeholder attests their involvement in the management of site, it implies that they bring some kind of resources for supporting this process. This is not happening at MCLWHS, yet they want to benefit from any related socio-economic initiatives at the site. For stakeholders that mobilize resources for the management of MCLWHS, they cater for social corporate responsibility (19%),

human resources (18%), technical and financial resources (7% each) with infrastructural resources accounting for only 2%. The social corporate responsibility can be attributed to the extractive industries and some tourism players that have a culture of giving back to the society through such initiatives. The SBMS, UNESCO (on request) and Academics account for the technical and financial resources at MCLWHS.

In this context, it is important for other stakeholders to consider mobilizing resources for the management of MCLWHS and this will give weight to their alternative voices in the decision making process. Such resources could be money, knowledge, technical and human resources, and these should be quantifiable. The situation prevailing at MCLWHS generates both opportunities and constraints in resource mobilization. Firstly, what is peculiar at MCLWHS is that the majority of respondents were young (below 18) or very old (above 60) and these age categories are not in a position to provide any resources at all. They both fall into what one can call the 'beneficiary age category of the site' given that young people are 'dependencies' and are still going through their education on the account of their guardians. The older people are now 'pensioners' with most of the retired or semi-retired and now more concerned with their daily needs. As such, resource mobilization needs to be inculcated into the mindset of young people who are future leaders

Desiring to be involved and benefiting from the site should come with some responsibilities for any stakeholder, including mobilising resources for the same. Stakeholders cannot come empty handed at World Heritage Sites. Expecting to benefit without investing promotes a sense of entitlement which is not sustainable under any circumstances. One category of stakeholders that has this approach at MCLWHS is the IDCs, who often argue that they own the cultural resources as the creators and should therefore benefit without investing into the process leading to these outputs. However, and to the disadvantage of IDCs, MCLWHS has already been appropriated through legislations such as the NHRA (1999), 1972 World Heritage Convention and by the 'experts' who now own it. The traditional priviledge and powers of IDCs has been devolved to government entities legally appointed as Management Authorities of World Heritage sites. However, there are a few exceptions where IDCs are the official custodians of such sites in Africa, for instance at Kasubi Tombs (Uganda) and the Mijikenda Forests (Kenya). But even though, state-based Institutions still have an underhand in the governance process. In this context, SBMS are

protecting their mandates and the related investment in its upkeep. However, this investment by the SBMS is largely driven by tax income generated from all these stakeholders through various treasury strategies. The use of these tax income-driven financial resources is in tandem with UNESCO statutes that bestow the responsibility of protecting World Heritage sites as the responsibility of the State Party (Ndoro & Wijesuriya 2014; Donnacie 2010). However, SBMS are now expected to diversify their sources of revenue given the dwindling funding from central government. This puts them in direct competition with other stakeholders operating around World Heritage sites, especially in areas of tourism investment at heritage sites.

It is imperative that this area be further investigated to find a model that equates the desire to be involved with the capability of bringing resources to the site by stakeholders for their mutual benefit. In the capitalist circles, resources you bring to the table give you power and influence. in the decision-making processes. Within the wide range of potential resources, each stakeholder should find something to bring on board. This aspect, demonstrates how resources are used to marginalise other stakeholders, including their capacity to attend decision-making meetings at World Heritage sites such as MCLWHS. State Parties should also develop the art of harnessing additional resources to ensure the engagement and involvement of IDCs as stakeholders at MCLWHS. However, the level of creativity and innovation by SBMS in this area is very low, which keeps State Parties recycling traditional approaches which yield the same rhetorical results biased towards conservation dream without benefiting communities. reduces governance tensions. As an example, and within the context of potential resources that can be mobilized, an alternative and creative approach could be enshrined in decolonizing or ‘de-archaeologising’ the interpretation of the MCLWHS with the direct involvement of IDCs as active players. This can unlock financial and technical resources from other partners interested in such projects. During discussions with IDCs at MCLWHS, they complained about lack of involvement in this area. IDCs are creators and custodians of this knowledge, which SBMS and academics erroneously claim ownership to.

However, for all this to be operationalized, it would require IDCs to have their own Park Forum at MCLWHS, as has happened at Robben Island World Heritage site. Robben Island World Heritage site, in 2017, established a sub-committee of the Robben Island Museum Council on Ex-

Political Prisoners: Ex Political Prisoners Advisory Committee (EPPAC). This means Ex-Political Prisoners are formally recognized in the governance structures of the site, and have a decision-making role at the highest level of the institution. A charter to effect this governance role is now in place and this needs to be continuously monitored to ensure mutual benefits are derived from this arrangement. This does not mean that Robben Island Museum shall not have challenges with Ex-Political Prisoners, but at least dialogue is formalised with them towards implementing good governance practices at the site. Formal governance arrangements with IDCs or any other stakeholder category assists with dealing with issues of mistrust and unlocking potential resources. In addition, Ex-Political Prisoners offer Prison tours as part of touristic products at the destination at Robben Island and are the face of outreach programmes. Given the low ranking of tourism at MCLWHS compared to other national parks (Sinthumule, 2014), such institutional arrangements, creativity and innovation as at Robben Island maybe what is needed to encourage IDCs and furthermore attract domestic arrivals through offering a glimpse of their own culture at MCLWHS.

Involving IDCs in the management of heritage sites in a formal way could avert socio-economic developments and vandalism that took place at Domboshava Rock Art site in Zimbabwe. Domboshava was proclaimed as a National Monument because of its rock paintings and Stone Age deposits, yet the rain making shrine function for local communities was not recognised. The latter resulted in IDCs being barred from using the site. This led to repeated vandalism of the site demonstrating the intensifying tensions between local communities and the Management Authority, National Museums and Monuments of Zimbabwe. The continued governance tensions between National Museums and Monuments of Zimbabwe and the local community, has a long history and eventually culminated in the repeated vandalism of the site museum and the defacing of the Rock Art panels themselves by a suspected disgruntled former employee. In response, National Museums and Monuments of Zimbabwe constructed an interpretation centre and at the same time persuaded the local communities to construct an Amphitheatre outside the boundaries of the site. The Amphitheatre project never saw its full completion due to a combination of compliance issues, financial constraints, its inappropriateness to a community not excited with theatre and lack of support from National Museums and Monuments of Zimbabwe.

From a socio-economic perspective, and given the lack of visible beneficiation accruing to them as local communities at Domboshava Rock Art site, they took a bold decision to construct a restaurant inside the site that could benefit them without involving National Museums and Monuments of Zimbabwe. With the support of other non-state actors, local communities They captured the flow of tourists to the site and the domestic market by branding the restaurant as a place of unwinding in a sacred forest. This also indirectly dealt with the challenge of seasonality of tourism in the area as it caters for different patrons using multiple products. The 'Ndambakurimwa' (the uncultivable sacred forest) is now home to thriving downstream tourism activities, with both the restaurant and the monument benefiting from the tourist flow to the area. Even if NMMZ wanted to institute a legal process against this development, chances are very high that the Goromonzi District Council responsible for community development, would have politicized the matter given that the site is a magnet for tourism.

The point of the matter is that IDCs should be given space to make such socio-economic decisions as cultural practices are not static nor confined to one place. The selling of beers at the restaurant at Domboshava Rock Art site is not far-fetched as the oral traditions confirm that beer was brewed and served in the same forest during the rain making ceremony conducted by the local communities for many decades. The traditionally thatched structures characterizing the restaurants further create a sense of belonging in a sea of urban development, characterized by mushrooming modern houses that are fast replacing traditional architecture of the area. These modern houses are owned by 'urbanites' from Harare, the capital city of Zimbabwe. As such, the restaurant is the only place that resembles a communal experience within a rural setup which is fast being 'urbanized'. In the long term, this could actually contribute to the extended preservation of the forests. The forests give a cultural context to this creative initiative by the local community. The issue at Domboshava could be that, the forest, once the sacred space for ceremonies, may have been abandoned in the spiritual realm given decades of inaccessibility imposed by National Museums and Monuments of Zimbabwe. Only the owners and creators of this sacredness can make such bold decisions and not SBMS. Domboshava Rock Art site could have now become just a memorial landscape symbolizing past spiritual exploits of local communities that are now happening somewhere else, save for the rock paintings and archaeological deposits which have been the cornerstone of interpretation at the site.

7.3.4 Summary of perspectives

Theoretically, stakeholders at MCLWHS would want to be involved in the governance of the site, but from empirical evidence, these stakeholders have become content with average involvement as determined by SBMS. However, these stakeholders do not provide any meaningful resources towards the management of MCLWHS, but all try to involve local communities in their initiatives. This empirical pattern perpetuates the traditional governance approach of SBMS as the sole funder and decision-maker at MCLWHS. The discussion motivates that SBMS should accommodate site based community-driven initiatives is an integral component of diversifying cultural experience at MCLWHS. This is expected to facilitate formalised governance structures towards bringing benefits of conservation closer to the IDCs. Beneficiation mechanisms for IDCs have to be built around such creative and innovative processes that appeal to the sense of recognition and worthiness at the site. Satisfaction of IDCs through active involvement at the site, may assist in overshadowing the demand for material benefits as a primary benefit. Material benefits should be enshrined as secondary spin offs of active involvement of IDCs in the interpretation and presentation of MCLWHS.

7.4 Stakeholders and Socio-economic development at MCLWHS

The study desired to find out how stakeholders construct socio-economic values at MCLWHS based on the known and unknown renewable and non-renewable resources. Furthermore, the study assessed stakeholder awareness levels on socio-economic developments at MCLWHS, how theoretically and actually influence decision making processes around socio-economic developments at the site.

7.4.1 Stakeholder awareness on socio-economic developments at MCLWHS

Regarding stakeholder awareness level on the socio-economic developments at MCLWHS, the research showed that tourism is dominant followed by infrastructure, agriculture and mining. This confirms why socio-economic developments (37%) were ranked ahead of conservation (33%) in

terms of their importance at MCLWHS. This also highlights that socio-economic development interests have become a grassroots issue at MCLWHS. Tourism has been largely accepted at many World Heritage sites worldwide as a form of sustainable development, though negative impacts have also been recorded (Salazar, 2010a, 2010b; Deacon, J. 2006a; Briedenhann & Wickens, 2004; Scheyvens, 2003). For MCLWHS in its four-tier status, offers diverse tourism products and these include heritage tours, museum tour, heritage and museum tour, sunset drive, night drive, guided walks, museum school tours, game drives, eco-tours, bush braai and conferencing. For MCLWHS, the average time spent on each of these products is 2-3 hours and they are also offered using differential prices ranging from R16 to R765 as of September 2018 (SANParks website, 2018).

A critical review of the above products shows that all heritage related tours are fixed to a maximum of 2 hours compared to nature tours (3 hours). School tours have a lower tariff as part of making heritage accessible to previously disadvantaged communities in South Africa. This is a widespread approach based on a concessionary rate for learners in South Africa. This explains why educational interest is ranked higher by respondents in this study. These educational tariff concessions are an empowerment vehicle but the only danger is that continued targeting of previously disadvantaged schools is excluding previously advantaged learners who also have a knowledge gap in the heritage of IDCs. This is an area that needs policy and strategic shift by SANParks on heritage education programmes as part of building social cohesion and reconciliation in a once racially divided nation. Even touring the Museum has a time limit, which is not a conventional approach compared to how most museums operate. Many Museums allow people to spend as much time as possible. For MCLWHS, the reason could be the small size of the museum and the influx of large tour groups at the same time which warrants this approach. Tour Guides ensure this time limit is enforced by providing guided tours. The tours to Mapungubwe Hill are also controlled through tour guides and use of four-wheel-drive game viewers. The presence of armed tour guides is just a safety measure because of the wildlife in the Park.

This strong bias of tourism products towards natural values at MCLWHS confirms the long-known approach of focusing on biodiversity values at the site. Even IDCs are concerned about this bias, which is at the expense of the spirituality and sacredness of their appropriated landscape. IDCs

highlighted that the tour guiding narrative is largely constructed around archaeological debates and colonial narratives that exclude the spirituality and sacredness of the landscape. From these challenges, an opportunity exists for SANParks to creatively involve IDCs in reinterpreting and presenting MCLWHS to the public. SANParks should embark on a community-driven research programme to consolidate existing data on the spirituality and sacredness of the landscape. The results of the community-driven research could be used in reviewing the interpretation framework of the landscape. Elements such as spirituality, sacredness, indigenous knowledge of plants and animals, and their role in healing could diversify the archaeological narrative being offered to tourists. These elements should also be cascaded to tour guiding training at the site, where members of IDCs could become trainers and guides at the same time.

The level of awareness on socio-economic developments at MCLWHS, implies that it has become a management issue at World Heritage sites in Africa. The visibility of agriculture and mining confirms the discussion in Chapter 5. Agriculture has a long history at MCLWHS and contributes to about 2% to the GVA-R Sectoral composition of Limpopo (Limpopo Treasury 2018). On the other hand, mining is also historically connected with MCLWHS, as argued in Chapter 5. Currently, mining accounts for 28% of the Limpopo economy (Limpopo Treasury, 2018). This confirms the results of the 2nd Cycle Periodic Reporting and the 50th Anniversary Celebrations of the 1972 World Heritage Convention entitled "Living with World Heritage" which fully recognize the need to actively manage these imperatives in order to mitigate unintended negative impacts at WHS (DAC & AWHF, 2014). The conference recommended a balance between conservation and development at World Heritage sites in Africa (DAC & AWHF, 2014). If stakeholders can recognize these matters, heritage institutions can only play a role by consciously and meaningful aligning conservation to be more responsive to the occurrence and visibility of socio-economic developments at World Heritage sites.

7.4.2 Stakeholder influence on socio-economic decisions

Regarding stakeholder influence in the decision making process on socio-economic developments at MCLWHS, he study revealed that their influence on socio-economic decisions is predominantly very low at the site. For MCLWHS, this pattern is further confirmed by pivotal analysis of the

frequency at which response options on the influence of stakeholders in socio-economic activities were selected by the respondents (Figure 7.5). The highest overall preferred level of decision making by respondents indicated that their influence is *very low* (1.72) followed by *not at all* (0.97): average (0.74), don't know (0.85), low (0.74), high (0.55) and very high (0.27) being the least ranked in terms of total multiple responses. Stakeholder influence is 'very low' in hunting, others, extractive industries, infrastructure and agriculture activities at the site. This pattern is further reinforced by 'no influence at all' on hunting, agriculture and extractive industries. Though very low dominates, this study reveals that some stakeholders have average influences in the decision making around tourism, infrastructure and agriculture initiatives at MCLWHS. Tourism also dominates on the high level and very high levels. This further reinforces the dominance of tourism as a socio-economic activity at MCLWHS.

The low influence on decision making around socio-economic development initiatives raises a questions; whose development is it? And for whose benefit? Similar concerns were raised by IDCs during field consultations. This can be attributed to the physical distance between the site and communities, as well as the absence of an inclusive governance bringing together conservation and socio-economic development at MCLWHS. One can safely postulate that, the long history of alienation and control of the area as a national park, sandwiched between private conservancies, mining concessions, commercial farms and high end tour operators, leaves very little room for any other stakeholder category to influence decision making around socio-economic development not initiated by themselves. This means the drivers of these initiatives are the decision makers. Any of these drivers takes decisions that would benefit their own business, while the needs of other stakeholders become secondary. This also relates to the ownership of such socio-economic initiatives, for instance mining and agriculture, which are predominantly in the hands of the private sector.

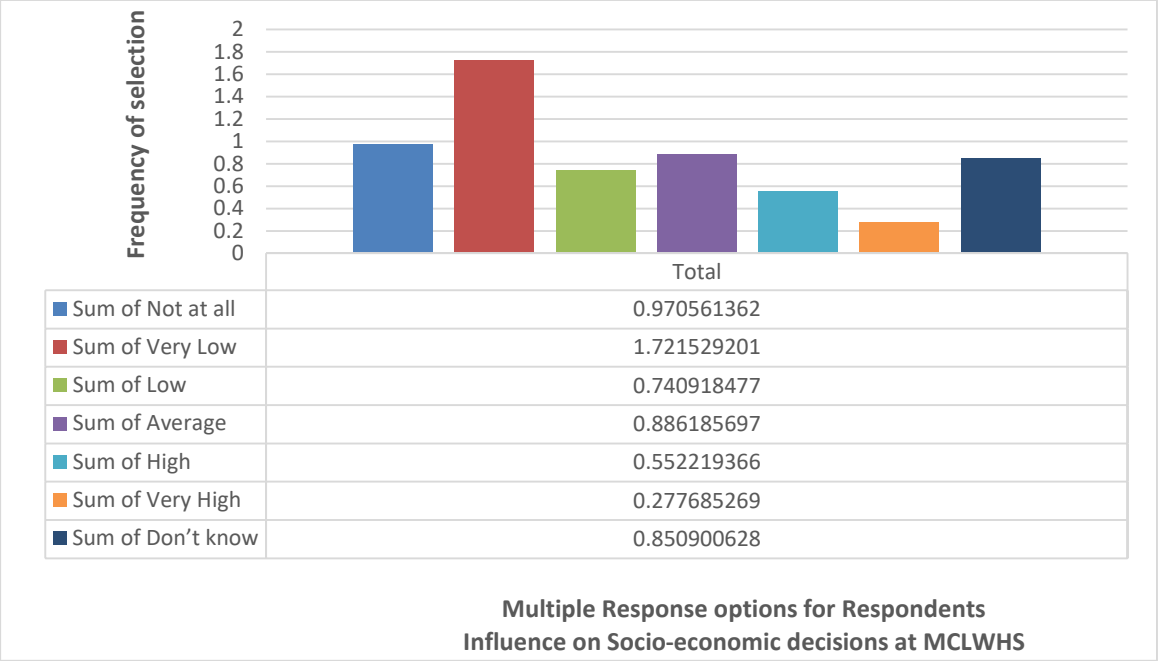


Figure 7.5: Ranking of overall stakeholder influence on socio-economic development aspects at the MCLWHS

This discussion confirms that decision making is in the hands of those with power and the ability to implement socio-economic decisions at MCLWHS. Ironically, such stakeholders accuse SBMS for not involving them in heritage governance at MCLWHS, yet they don't also include them in their decision making processes. This shows double standards among stakeholders, which makes inclusive governance approach to remain elusive at MCLWHS.

7.4.3 Stakeholders and level benefits of socio-economic development at MCLWHS

Apart from understanding the stakeholder awareness levels and their influence in decision making around socio-economic developments, the study also sought to understand the level of benefits derived from socio-economic developments by stakeholders at MCLWHS. This was critical in ascertaining the materiality of socio-economic benefits in meeting the needs of society. The study showed that the majority of the people do not know anything (1.37) about such benefits accruing to them at MCLWHS, followed by '*average benefits'* (1.12), '*high benefits'* (1.09), '*no benefits'* (0.73) and finally, '*low benefits'* (0.68), as illustrated in Figure 7.8. This 'don't know' needs further

investigation in the future as part of figuring out how benefits accruing to stakeholders could be embedded in the conceptual and implementation phases of socio-economic developments at MCLWHS.

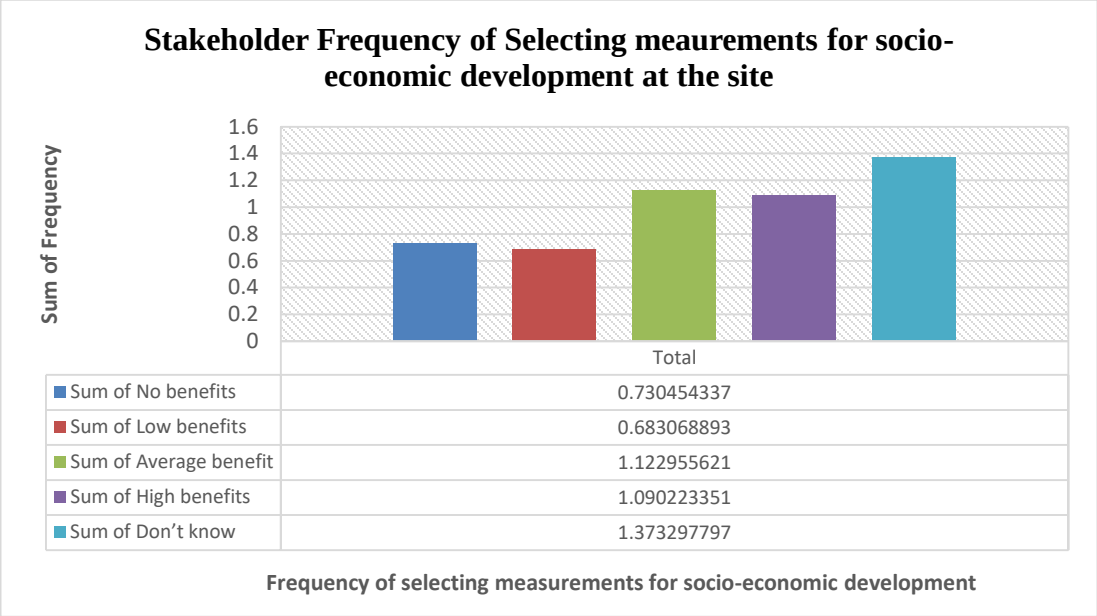


Figure 7.6: Pivot chart showing the highest ranked level of benefit accruing from socio-economic development at MCLWHS

However, in the midst of this situation in which the majority of the respondents 'don't know' of any benefits accruing from socio-economic development, there are some exceptions in which such developments are considered giving high benefits to stakeholders. Such high benefits are derived from tourism (46%), infrastructure (24%), agriculture (17%), extractive industries (13%) and hunting (9%). When reviewed against the combined ranking of 'high' and 'average' benefits, tourism still dominates. The domination of tourism benefits results from MCLWHS is justifiable given its four-tier status and being a touristic destination. The dominance of tourism benefits also accounts for the educational values of the site. Tourism is one of the long-established socio-economic initiatives and gives birth to infrastructure (accommodation facilities), tour operations, employment and opportunities for alternative revenue streams as benefits for stakeholders at MCLWHS. For instance, the GMTFCA has more than 500 tourist beds (GMTFCA, 2010:26).

However, it is argued that MCLWHS receives low visitor volumes compared to other national parks and this may threaten its financial sustainability (Eagles *et al.*, 2002).

While tourism benefits are dominant, the IDCs complained that that they are not benefiting as as their present day locations are not part of the tourism itinerary and neither are they allowed to run craft centres at MCLWHS in order to connect the visitor experience to the spirituality and sacredness of the landscape. Their presence as part of the touristic experience in one way or another, would be a vital connection at MCLWHS. The request by IDCs to be granted access for ceremonies should be capitalised for a niche cultural experience packaged like the annual Kuomboka Festival of the Barotse Floodplain in western Zambia (Flint, 2007). The festival is hosted by Lozi peoples and rides on their history and heritage as a strong symbol of identification for African cultures and practices that have survived the test of time (Flint, 2007). However, ownership and sacredness of the heritage has a bearing on its commercial use, including the beneficiation mechanisms for the contesting IDCs (Flint, 2007).

This study acknowledges that dealing with scattered IDCs in MCLWHS is a complex matter compared to those of the Barotse Cultural Landscape. It also acknowledges the existing contestations and other inherent dynamics exhibited during field work by IDCs.However, the point of the matter is that even in their remote locations, IDCs still have a role to play in the presentation of the MCLWHS. Establishing community museums in their current locations, far away from the site and creating linking nodes with MCLWHS, may be uneconomical given the current experience with a plethora of similar white elephants and underfunded community museums in Africa. This includes national museums in the case of South Africa, which barely implement their mandates given the limited treasury grants. The administrative facility outside the MCLWHS, which was funded by the National Department of Tourism (South Africa), could be used to implement some of these creative and innovative ideas for the mutual benefit of SANParks and IDCs. SANParks could also consider establishing a community craft centre at a strategic location within the core area of the MCLWHS in order to take advantage of the criss-crossing tourist trails. This suggested community craft centre could be supplied with curios and traditional meals from IDCs, which may give life to the current restaurant operated by SANParks. The range of curios at the current Interpretation Centre is limited and tantamount to an academic bookshop. From a governance

perspective, this community craft centre would be managed by trained IDC entrepreneurs either as a Trust or Joint Venture with SANParks. Golden Gate National Park has a similar arrangement which can be replicated in other National Parks in South Africa.

This IDCs-driven approach for tourism could also give birth to a process where facilities within MCLWHS could be renamed using indigenous names and attributes important to them. Also, IDCs members could become tour guides under a mutually beneficial governance arrangement. Sites such RIWHS, employ ex-political prisoners as Prison guides. There is nothing stopping SANParks in accommodating IDCs in this capacity for specialized cultural tours at MCLWHS. The model at Robben Island World Heritage site could be considered and varied where applicable at MCLWHS. At RIWHS, the former political prisoners introduce a first-hand account experience that breaks tourists emotionally and gives them greater understanding about the atrocities associated with apartheid. Similarly, the spirituality of MCLWHS could be the catalyst that is missing in rejuvenating the archaeologically driven heritage tours at the site. This would be part of building self-worth among IDCs, allowing their reconnection with the landscape in a semi-commercialized sense and building their sustainable involvement at MCLWHS. This approach will reduce material beneficiation to a secondary matter as IDCs are looking for official recognition in the first place. All this would strategically position IDCs to be beneficiaries of the socio-economic aspects of MCLWHS in a broader and sustainable way.

Tourism could also be enhanced at MCLWHS by encouraging IDCs to permanently donate the material culture under their custody that could assist in decolonialising the narrative of the landscape as part of re-interpreting the site. For example, during field consultations with IDCs, one member showed the meeting an artefact relating to their spirituality which is still in their custody. This member stated that they do not trust the Management Authority with their collections given its history and inability to recover other cultural objects appropriated by the University of Pretoria over the years. Protracted discussions on these matters between SANParks and University of Pretoria have been reduced to scientific dialogue bordering on implementing good practices in collections management, of which the former is viewed as weaker in this area. If SANParks is serious about IDCs concerns, it has to create conditions and infrastructure conducive for the repatriation of these objects from Pretoria, including those that are in the custody of the IDCs.

Overall, MCLWHS needs to repackage the heritage tours, to include the spirituality and sacredness of the landscape, giving them IDCs tour guiding role for special tours and consider regional tour connections of the landscape in the context of GMTFCA. In addition, SANParks should also consider offering heritage related tours as a 'single package option' supported by a competitive tariff and reasonable time duration, with the option of independent IDC guides playing an active role. The future of tourism at MCLWHS lies in this diversification including recognizing other salient local outstanding universal values such as rock art sites, fossil sites, and Stone Age sites in the area.

Another area of concern for tourism at MCLWHS is the three-tier entry tariff that is not sympathetic to the regional context of the MCLWHS (Table 7.1). The site is connected to Botswana and Zimbabwe, who are all part of the GMTFCA. The three-tier tariff, common in many African countries, makes it very expensive for SADC residents to visit MCLWHS yet they are culturally connected as IDCs groups of this broader area. These peculiar and unique cultural connections of MCLWHS should be leveraged to introduce competitive products and tariffs towards creating a localized niche for sustainable tourism given seasonality challenges that affect this industry in South Africa. Issues of seasonality in tourism trends can be opportunities for localized and domestic tourism for WHS in Africa. Continued reliance on global markets, though desirable, is now vulnerable to factors beyond the control of touristic destinations such as travel warnings, politics, disease outbreaks, terrorism, shifts in demand from international markets as new destinations emerge, among many others.

Countries	**MCLWHS Tariffs**	
	Adults	*Children*
SA	R48	R24
SADC	R96	R48
International	R192	R96

Table 7.0.1: Three-tier tariff at MCLWHS (SANParks website 2018)

The proximity of MCLWHS to one of the biggest and busiest border posts into Zimbabwe, which is also a gateway to many other African countries, coupled with the growth of Musina as a city, has not been fully leveraged through competitive heritage products and tariffs. While this may work for MCLWHS in its regional context, most touristic destinations in South Africa charge a single tariff to all visitors irrespective of the country of origin. However, at Robben Island World Heritage Site, charging a single tariff for all tourists is not well received by the domestic market as they prefer preferential treatment. Robben Island World Heritage Site needs to find a tariff model that balances accessibility at national and regional levels, but at the same time addressing seasonality challenges and catering for those that have the buying power to indirectly subsidize domestic market. Of course, this makes destinations expensive for international communities. While tourism remains one of the anchors of development in the Limpopo Province of South Africa, most of the touristic establishments are in the hands of private operators and SANParks. This situation further marginalizes IDCs who could be strategically empowered with hospitality management skills.

From an infrastructure perspective, there is a vibrant tourist accommodation industry ranging from four- (4) to one- (1) star hotels around Musina and MCLWHS. In the latter, game lodges, chalets, camping sites and guest - houses exist for the benefit of users at varying tariff regimes. These includes the Mopane Bush Lodge, Mapungubwe Self-catering lodges, camping sites and chalets, Vhembe trails camping sites, Tshigulu Lodge, and many others across in Botswana and Zimbabwe. Musina provides extra accommodation facilities for tourists, including catering for transiting passengers who use the Musina/Beit Bridge border post. Related to the tourism aspects of MCLWHS is the 1% conservation levy on all accommodation and activity reservations. This levy is applied in all National Parks in South Africa. The levy is used to meet the diverse needs of local communities, including designing sustainable and strategic community partnerships within and outside protected areas. It also assists in implementing legacy projects such as health (clinics), education (schools), water and sanitation projects (SANParks 2018). According to SANParks, the levy is an opportunity for a philanthropic approach to heritage management (SANParks 2018). These initiatives, coupled with the broader infrastructural developments in the area as a result of tourism, are the reason why stakeholders ranked infrastructure as the second dominant socio-

economic development at MCLWHS. The short-term jobs created through these developments and the Expanded Public Works Programme (EPWP) are important to the livelihoods of communities around MCLWHS. The EPWP focuses on skills development, and contributes to decent work, sustainable livelihoods, education, rural development, food security, land reform and fight against crime and corruption.

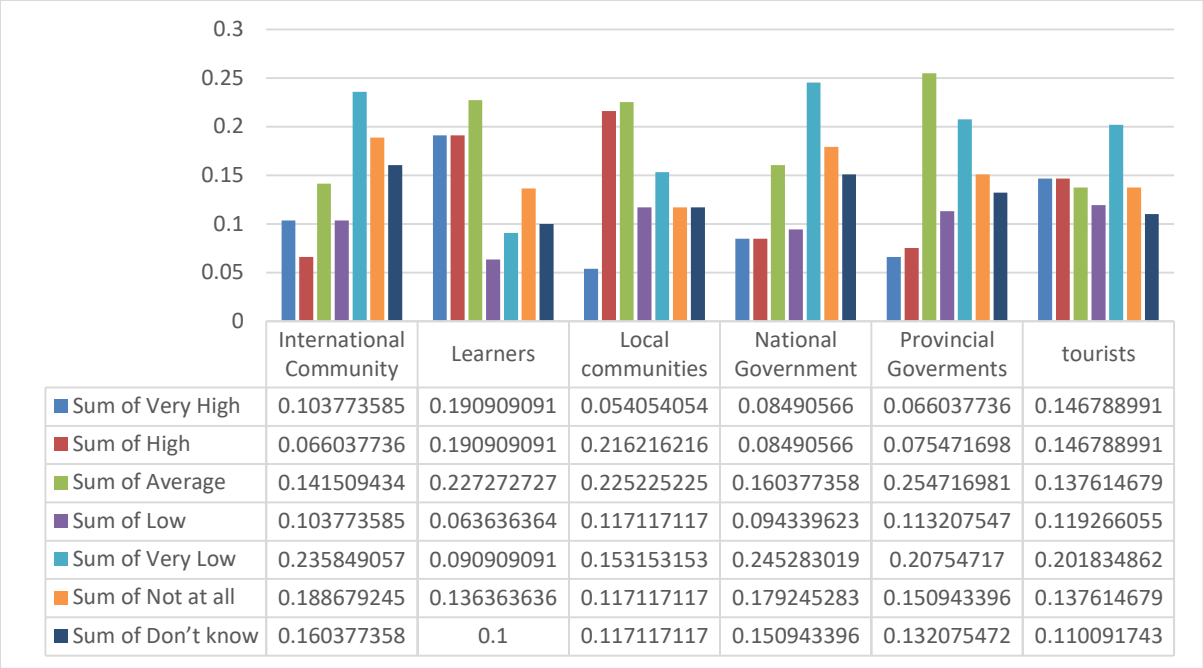
Another socio-economic activity considered perceived to be giving meaningful benefits is agriculture at MCLWHS. Agriculture has been very pronounced in the MCLWHS area from for a long time and offers both permanent and seasonal opportunities to farm workers. This can be traced back to the Kingdom of Mapungubwe which practised farming during Iron Age period (Fleminger, 2006). In the present, the most significant agriculture practices at MCLWHS involve citrus, cattle and game farming. These are labour-intensive activities and provide much-needed employment in an area with soaring unemployment rates (GMTFCA, 2010; Limpopo Treasury, 2018). The unemployment rate has risen from 19.3% (2016) to 19.6% (2017) in the Limpopo Province (Limpopo Treasury, 2018). Thus, farming and mining offer a solution to this grassroots challenge, which is rampant in other provinces of South Africa. Agriculture employs 10% of the people in Limpopo Province and contributes about 2% of the GVA-R Sectoral composition of Limpopo (Limpopo Treasury, 2018). Also, Musina area, under which MCLWHS falls, had approximately 2,261 households involved in agriculture in 2011 (STATS SA, 2011). In addition, the production of consumable agricultural products such as oranges that are made readily available in retail shops in the surroundings of the site is important to stakeholders. Though agriculture is benefiting stakeholders, commercial agriculture continues to pose challenges to conservation in the area due to water abstraction from the rivers and underground sources (Berry & Cadman, 2007). The private ownership of the agricultural land may also infringe on other stakeholders, for instance the movement of tourists (Berry & Cadman, 2007).

On the other hand, extractive industries provide short-term employment as a benefit to stakeholders and support broader infrastructural developments in partnership with local authorities, which also create economic opportunities for stakeholders around MCLWHS. Extractive industries employ about 6% of the population of Limpopo Province (Limpopo Treasury, 2018). Extractive industries also contribute 28% to the overall economy of Limpopo province

(Limpopo Treasury, 2018). Learners sometimes benefit from organized tours to the mines as part of job and skills opportunity awareness campaigns by employers. This industry also supports the national development agenda of South Africa. In 2013, the then President of South Africa, Jacob Zuma, pointed out that mining ventures such as De Beers in Mapungubwe were "significant because it demonstrated confidence in South Africa as an investment destination of choice by both foreign and South African companies" (Creamer, 2013). Again in 2013, the Minister of the Department of Mineral Resources, Susan Shabangu, implored De Beers to ensure that the investment sustainably benefited mining communities and labour-sending areas (Creamer, 2013). This political rhetoric continues around the role of extractive industries in Africa yet benefits accruing to labour-sending areas remains low. This confirms the general challenge within this industry, where positive benefits are overshadowed by its negative impacts on the environment and society, including the non-fulfilment of benefits promised to stakeholders, especially IDCs (Chirikure *et al.,* 2010). Last but not least, hunting is providing some benefits through guiding services and assisting professional hunters, including employment in private conservancies, which also act as tourism nodes.

7.4.5 Impact on other Stakeholders from a socio-economic perspective

Discussing how stakeholders are benefiting from socio-economic initiatives at MCLWHS cannot be completely understood without understanding how these stakeholders impact each other from a socio-economic perspective. The study showed that this impact is mainly "average" at MCLWHS (Figure 7.7) as shown by the frequency at which the impact ranking options were selected by all respondents at MCLWHS. The following pattern emerged: '*average'* (1.15), '*very low impact'* (1.13), '*not at all'* (0.9), '*high'* (0.78), '*don't know'* (0.77), '*very high'* (0.65) and '*low'* (0.61).



	International Community	Learners	Local communities	National Government	Provincial Goverments	tourists
Sum of Very High	0.103773585	0.190909091	0.054054054	0.08490566	0.066037736	0.146788991
Sum of High	0.066037736	0.190909091	0.216216216	0.08490566	0.075471698	0.146788991
Sum of Average	0.141509434	0.227272727	0.225225225	0.160377358	0.254716981	0.137614679
Sum of Low	0.103773585	0.063636364	0.117117117	0.094339623	0.113207547	0.119266055
Sum of Very Low	0.235849057	0.090909091	0.153153153	0.245283019	0.20754717	0.201834862
Sum of Not at all	0.188679245	0.136363636	0.117117117	0.179245283	0.150943396	0.137614679
Sum of Don't know	0.160377358	0.1	0.117117117	0.150943396	0.132075472	0.110091743

Figure 7.7: Pivot chart showing impact of stakeholders on each other as based on their socio-economic activities

The dominance of 'average impact on other stakeholders' from a socio-economic perspective points to relations that are not joined by common goals, understanding and expected outcomes of socio-economic development at MCLWHS. This confirms the observed their low involvement in the decision making on socio-economic issues at MCLWHS (item 7.4.2). As an exception, 'very high impact' is on learners, which is consistent with their dominance in this study, while under 'high ranking impact', local communities come top. The highest 'average impact' is on provincial government, while tourist come last. The general dominance of 'average impact among stakeholders' from a socio-economic development perspective at MCLWHS could possible confirm the underlying factors defining relations among stakeholders: power, legitimacy and urgency (Sachs & Ruhli, 2011:38). These factors determine the nature of both the vertical and horizontal relations among stakeholders. With power, any stakeholder can determine the direction and level of engagement with other stakeholders, including the benefits accruing thereof to such stakeholders (Orij, R. 2010). Though institutions are supposed to be responsive to the needs and interests of other stakeholders, it is not always the case for many reasons, among them culture of organizations (Roberts, 1992; Gray, 1988; Haely & Palepu, 2011). It would appear stakeholder

relations are on a needs basis at MCLWHS rather than being a good governance practice and a moral issue, even in the absence of any beneficiation expectation. The tensions among stakeholders at MCLWHS could be attributed to their 'low level' involvement in the decision making processes on socio-economic issues (item 7.4.2), which may point to silo existence and operations in the same landscape. Failure to balance their needs, interests, and expectations, with those of other stakeholders leads to weaker impact on each other. However, this is the reality of stakeholder experiences in a capitalist world.

Interestingly, there is very low impact is on international communities, national and provincial governments, tourists, local communities and learners. International communities have very low impact on socio-economic development due to their distant connection with MCLWHS, and their power is vested in legislation and protocols that are used to monitor SBMS decisions on such developments at MCLWHS. The 'very low ranking' of National and provincial governments may be attributed to their mixed role characterised by both monitoring and implementing conservation and the development agenda as set by the State Party. Regarding local communities, the study has already shown how they are disconnected from the site, and therefore they are unlikely to benefit directly from the socio-economic initiatives at the site. As for Learners, and because of their infrequent visits in high numbers to the site, and being in remote locations in relation to the site, have very low impact on any socio-economic developments at the site. Also, in their own perspective, learners do not have the means to induce impact on other stakeholders. While learners and local communities are supposed to be beneficiaries of socio-economic development initiatives at MCLWHS, their very low impact ranking should be used as an opportunity to trigger or induce application of social corporate responsibility in heritage management governance. As such, social corporate responsibility needs domestication in heritage legislations as a tool that can be used to enhance beneficiation mechanisms for the broader society in particular for IDCs and learners.

7.4.6 Summary of perspectives

From the above discussion it is evident that the identified multiple and multi-layered stakeholders at MCLWHS are aware of socio-economic developments at the site and they rank tourism as the most familiar one to them. In relation to stakeholder influence on socio-economic decisions, the

study concludes that it is predominantly very low at MCLWHS as this is in the hands of those power and resources to implement their own decisions without involving others. When it comes to the benefits accruing to stakeholders from the socio-economic initiatives at MCLWHS, the study showed that the majority of the people do not know anything about such benefits accruing to them. Creativity and innovation in decolonizing the interpretation and presentation of MCLWHS towards bringing benefits to society, in particular IDCs is recommended. The discussion highly recommends IDCs-led tourism innovation at MCLWHS. Furthermore, discussion on this theme showed that the majority of stakeholders have an 'average' impact on other stakeholders from a socio-economic perspective at MCLWHS, and the provincial government dominates in this area. The emerging mixed views and opinions demonstrate that MCLWHS has challenges and opportunities for socio-economic development, and these needs to be harnessed for the benefit of society.

7.5 Comparative Analysis of conservation and socio-economic development

A comparative analysis of conservation and socio-economic development at MCLWHS was undertaken with an emphasis on what they contribute to each other, how the contribution of heritage to socio-economic indicators should be measured and the potential for their co-existence at MCLWHS.

7.5.1 Contribution of conservation and socio-economic development to each other at MCLWHS

The results showed that conservation contributes more to socio-economic development than the latter contributes to the former. Heritage protocols at sites such as the MCLWHS, provide opportunities for responsible and sustainable socio-economic developments and many other downstream livelihood industries. This confirms that culture can become a catalyst for socio-economic development. Also, stakeholder opinion on what is more important between conservation and socio-economic development, shows that conservation is 'very important' compared to socio-economic development, which stakeholders considered to be 'important'. However, stakeholders accede that both are very important at MCLWHS. This realization is confirmation that, with more constructive stakeholder dialogue, conservation and socio-economic

development could be mutually beneficial to each other at World Heritage sites in developing nations. While conservation has an opportunity to contribute more to socio-economic development, the history and experience of MCLWHS, demonstrates that heritage institutions are more on the punitive side of their legislation as opposed to building bridges with socio-economic development for the benefit of society. This is demonstrated through the compliance framework imposed on all developers at the site, and violations come with hefty penalties as was the case with Coal of Africa.

7.5.3 Contribution of Socio-economic development to Conservation at MCLWHS

Based on the frequency (see figure 7.8) at which respondents selected response options on how various socio-economic aspects contribute to conservation at MCLWHS, the following pattern emerged: '*don't know'* (1.03), '*very low'* (0.86), '*low'* (0.86), '*high'* (0.83), '*not at all'* (0.64), '*average'* (0.61) and lastly '*very high'* (0.17). Therefore, the contribution of socio-economic development to conservation at MCLWHS is not known. This confirms a general pattern at World Heritage sites in Africa, yet it is important in establishing a symbiotic relationship between the conservation and socio-economic development. This symbiotic relationship is critical for negotiating grounds for scientific and social trade-off towards their co-existence at World Heritage sites. This is an area which needs further research.

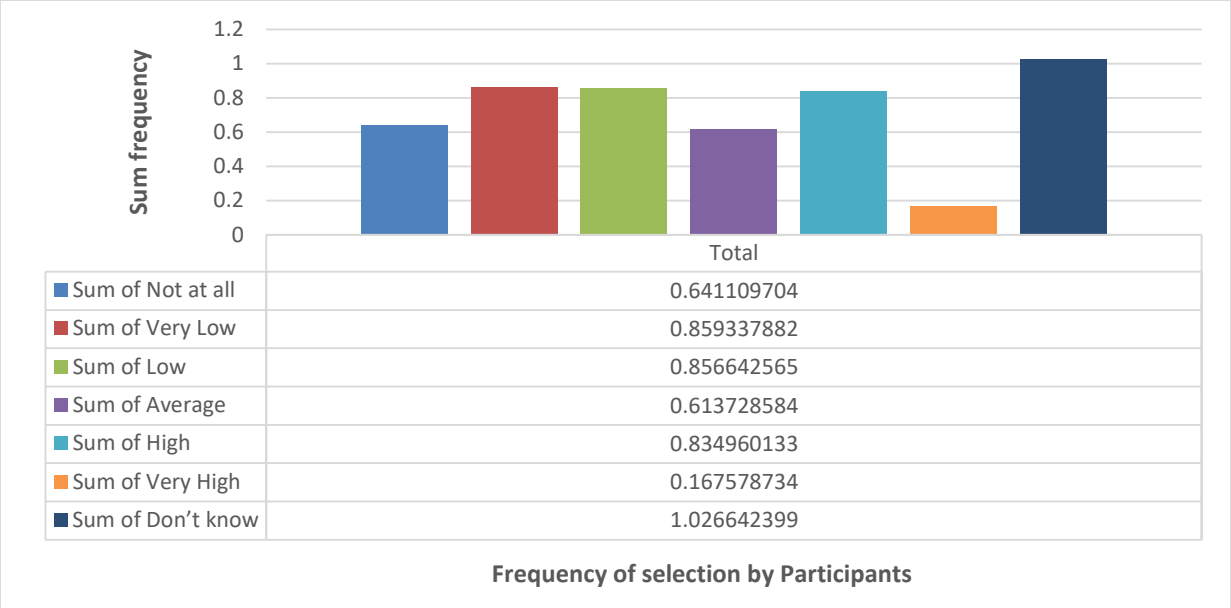


Figure 7.8: Pivot chart showing the highest ranked contribution response option at MCLWHS.

The fact stakeholders don't know how socio-economic contributes to conservation is worrisome at MCLWHS and this could be indicative that SANParks has reached stakeholders in a manner that emphasizes compliance only rather than both compliance and opportunities for socio-economic development contributing to conservation at the site. It could also be a sign that SANParks, just like many Management Authorities of World Heritage Sites in Africa, have not mastered the art of creating buy-in from other stakeholders in their heritage programmes. Planning in a silo without involving other stakeholders, who may come on board with both technical and financial resources, may explain this evolving situation at MCLWHS. Furthermore, it could point to lack of access to essential information on this matter by stakeholders as companies jealously guard their datasets. This becomes a governance issue as public declarations are limited to statutory annual reports of public companies. Also, the major issue is that as a Protected Area with a strict internal conservation regime-driven by the Scientific Services Division of SANParks, have very little room for measuring the contribution of socio-economic development on conservation, except the conservation fees and revenue generated from touristic arrivals at the site.

However, the 'high' level of dominance of tourism (27%), followed by infrastructure development (19%) and agriculture (16%) in contributing to conservation at MCLWHS has a long history at the

site and is very encouraging. All these are socio-economic activities that largely comply with the conservation protocols at MCLWHS. In addition, these socio-economic development typologies have been in action for many decades at the site, and have built a symbiotic or resilient relationship with conservation. However, the measurement of this is difficult in the absence of datasets derived from continuous monitoring of their contribution to conservation at MCLWHS over the years. On the other hand, extractive industries are also seen as not contributing to conservation at MCLWHS by 19% of the stakeholders. Again, the absence of monitoring on both positive and negative impacts of these extractive industries in conservation at MCLWHS is a missing link in this puzzle and this makes it difficult to validate with some degree of confidence the emerging views of stakeholders.

However, an archival analysis of archaeological researches leading to the discovery and protecting of the site, shows the role of explorers, mining institutions and farmers who were settling in the area. Explorers did not discover MCLWHS but they raised awareness on the importance of the site which then attracted funding for research and the conservation movement still visible today at MCLWHS. While this study acknowledges the possibility of looted precious artefacts in the process at MCLWHS, as would have happened with many other archaeological sites in Africa, this should not be used to avoid objective assessment of how these extractive activities have unintentionally contributed to the conservation agenda. In the latter years and even in the recent past, many scholars have worked in MCLWHS as part of EIAs fully paid by extractive industries. This data has witnessed the creation of massive individual and institutional archival databanks on nature and cultural values of Mapungubwe area. These archives are mostly held by universities, research institutions and museums across Africa. The University of Pretoria is one such institution holding priceless collections from MCLWHS. This includes the intellectual materials and scholarship developed on the complex evolution of MCLWHS as a Kingdom. Also, various universities in South Africa have benefitted from this and scholarships/grants awarded by extractive industries furthering studies on various heritage themes thereby benefiting lecturers and students over decades. The EIAs themselves have come up with fully funded mitigation measures in some instances for dealing with perceived and identified threats at MCLWHS. For instance, De Beers has a heritage management plan for the property where they are currently extracting mineral resources at MCLWHS. Coal of Africa Limited contributed substantially to conservation as part

of the offset arrangements. All this demonstrates that despite negative views around impacts of socio-economic, there are some positive outcomes for conservation out of development initiatives, but these have not been quantitatively and qualitatively accounted for.

Without SANParks sharing conservation needs and challenges, developers would not know how to assist them at MCLWHS. Also, without developers proactively engaging SANParks on conservation needs, they are not doing a favour to their corporate social responsibility as such Heritage institutions represent the State Party and society. They should reach society, in particular for IDCs through corporate social responsibility apart from corporate taxes and strategic partnerships they with governments for the sake of their businesses. The joint partnership between AWHF and the extractive industries in 2012 is testimony to how conservation and socio-economic development can benefit each other. Again in 2012, AWHF awarded a recognition certificate to NAMDEB for their contribution to the Oranjemund Shipwreck Rescue Mission in Namibia. This is not to justify that socio-economic developments should be allowed without scientific testing and compliance validation, the point being made here is that in the midst of tensions between conservation and socio-economic development, stakeholders should find mutual benefits and opportunities. These may not have been conceivable and feasible before due to biased focus on negative aspects only of both processes and in the absence of constructive dialogue among them. Constructive confrontation and pro-activeness is a step towards resolving conflicts at MCLWHS on the relationship between conservation and socio-economic developments. What is important in this step, is how the constructive confrontation is approached and negotiated stakeholders at the site.

7.5.4 Measuring heritage contribution to socio-economic indicators WHS

Given the overwhelming response from stakeholders reiterating the need for conservation and socio-economic development to co-exist at MCLWHS, an assessment of how the contribution of heritage to socio-economic indicators should be measured was undertaken. The results showed that the contribution of heritage should be measured using multiple indicators among them: number of employment/jobs created (indirect and direct), state of conservation, level of community development (quantitative and qualitative), number of tourists, contribution to gross

domestic product, number of business/investors at World Heritage sites, infrastructure development, and return on investment at MCLWHS. This should be measured quantitatively and qualitatively. Quantitative measurements refer to number of a phenomenon presented as output while qualitative measures the quality of the phenomenon in improving livelihoods of the broader society. The study notes with concern the current challenge of measuring the contribution of heritage to socio-economic development in the absence of statistical indicators and datasets over a period of time as is the case at MCLWHS.

Overall, while heritage is recognized in the SDGs, there are no indicators included to create a basis for its continuous monitoring. Even at national levels, while statistical indicators on the impact of socio-economic development on society are somehow available under national development plans, the indicators relating to the contribution of heritage is worrisome. This places heritage at the periphery of national economic indicators. This affects budgetary allocations and influences the legal classification of heritage institutions as non-profit, making them non-bankable businesses yet they are magnets of tourism worldwide. This cultural statistics gap is a flaw in aligning heritage to sustainable development indicators in Africa. What is generally known, but cannot be proven by solid datasets, is that heritage as a resource provides opportunities for "job creation, infrastructure development, and educational opportunities" and "revenue alike" (Ndoro, 2015: 393). The indicators proposed by stakeholders should be considered and further amplified to measure heritage's contribution to socio-economic indicators at World Heritage sites such as MCLWHS. Such an approach, can open the much needed political support for heritage to receive additional resources.

Applying statistical indicators at MCLWHS is not far-fetched as SANParks, the Management Authority of MCLWHS, has a "conceptualization of the function of socio-economic development as being one of the three core pillars of the organization of conservation and tourism" (Mketeni, 2016: 2). In this conceptualization, Mketeni (2016) argues that National Parks, which are located in rural areas of South Africa, are strategically placed to play a critical role as drivers of local economic development for the benefit of neighbouring local communities. Therefore, MCLWHS can build on the indicators of measuring this contribution and become more relevant to grassroots issues affecting society. The advantage is that SANParks is continuously looking for possible

sustainable strategies in implementing socio-economic developments that can uplift the livelihoods of the local communities around Parks (Mketeni, 2016). This realization should be "resurrected and transformed to meet the demands of new society" with some form of adapted social responsibility contributing towards "national identity, national pride, national and transformational economy and politics" at MCLWHS (Carruthers, 2006: 11).

The study argues that there is merit in formulating statistical indicators/ cultural statistics measuring the contribution of heritage to socio-economic development. This will result in such indicators/cultural statistics becoming decision-making tools in the process of balancing conservation and socio-economic development at World Heritage sites such as MCLWHS. This will also assist in the overall measurement of heritage's e contribution to various aspects of socio-economic development in a quantitative approach. For instance, it should be possible to quantify the contribution of heritage to tourism in South Africa using such statistics. One option for getting this data would be asking the various government departments and development monitoring agencies, as well as universities to conduct baseline research towards establishing indicators/cultural statistics as a way of closing a glaring measurement gap at World Heritage Sites in South Africa. This would assist in unearthing the hidden and the assumed 'very insignificant' contribution of heritage to the GDP of developing nations such as South Africa.

However, this discussion acknowledges that while it is still very difficult to fully measure some socio-economic development aspects such as the contribution of tourism to GDP, given its downstream tentacles (some not formally registered), this should not take away the need to initiate culture statistics measurement at World Heritage sites. For instance, in South Africa, there is need to quantify the contribution of heritage to tourism at heritage sites in South Africa given that stakeholders view tourism as the most important socio-economic activities. Indicators will help sites such as the MCLWHS understand how far are they are aligned to the socio-economic development goals and indicators of State Parties (Miller, 2001: Hart, 1996). Also, measuring these indicators is still difficult due to the contentious nature of what is sustainable development and how it should be achieved, and the extent to which it relates to social goals (Miller, 2001). However, what cannot be measured may not exist (Daly & Cobb, 1990). This requires further

research, including how some of the 231 monitoring indicators for SDGs can be adapted for World Heritage sites.

7.5.5 Potential for co-existence: conservation and socio-economic development

Regarding the potential of conservation and socio-economic developments co-existing at MCLWHS, the study reiterates overwhelming confirmation. This is consistent with literature review and many of the regional reports considered in this study. Respondents went further and articulated types of socio-economic developments that should be allowed in the future. Among the dominant ones are tourism, infrastructure development, agriculture, human settlement and dam constructions. This list attests to the growing need for World Heritage to contribute in meeting the growing needs of society. However, it is important to note that mining was lowly ranked in this list. This may signify the perceptions of the stakeholders after the CoAL saga at MCLWHS discussed in preceding chapters, including the non-fulfilment of promises which is prevalent with most extractive industries.

An emerging concept in South Africa that could help with co-existence of conservation and socio-economic developments is the application of the nodal approach/crowdfunding in promoting increased benefits to stakeholders. The concept of nodal approach/crowdfunding has been used to cluster activities and attractions, and promote the development of rural tourism routes, which stimulate co-operation and partnerships between local areas (Briedenhann & Wickens, 2004). Meaningful community engagement and participation, together with public sector support, presents opportunities for the development of small-scale indigenous tourism projects in less developed areas (Brown & Hay-Edie, 2014; Briedenhann & Wickens, 2004). The nodal approach prioritizes destinations rather than individual tourism projects/ products/ activities. It encourages more compact, mixed-use precincts/destinations and supports the enhancement of the general environment within which attractions and products are located (Manetsi, 2017). It also strengthens the linkages between attractions, improves the quality of the tourist experience within destinations and fosters geographic spread. This approach brings together various efforts, funds and influence of stakeholders in a specific area of development (Manetsi, 2017). This improves relationships

with other departments or entities towards strengthening linkages with other sectors (Manetsi, 2017).

National Department of Tourism (South Africa) is applying this nodal approach at World Heritage sites under the Destination Development Initiative (DDI). The DDI nodal approach promotes the identification and prioritization of clusters/nodes for tourism. NDT defines a 'tourism node' as a defined geographic area with a concentration of clearly defined tourism potential or attractiveness, with the following attributes: collection of tourist attractions in close proximity, accessible or potential to enable accessibility, having basic infrastructure or potential for development and enhancements thereof, having supporting tourism facilities and services or potential thereof, and potential for tourism and commercial value chain opportunities (Manetsi, 2017).

In selecting the node for clustering of resources and stakeholders input, NDT considers existing investment commitments, relevance to jobs, poverty alleviation, and sustainability of the projects (Manetsi, 2017). It also considers whether the node addresses tourism infrastructure gaps at high usage tourism destinations and iconic attractions, as well as underperforming tourism destinations and national attractions (Manetsi, 2017). Supporting tourism infrastructure development at new priority tourism destinations is also an important criterion considered by NDT. Other criteria applied include clear destination development goals, together with supporting and existing or potential tourism drivers; avoiding stand-alone products, but fostering significant clustering and compactness; significant level of population concentration; potential for upgrade, extension and linkage between existing attractions, destinations, precincts, and routes. Nodal approach can therefore be applied across various socio-economic initiatives at World Heritage sites but this requires greater stakeholder cooperation, which is where MMST plays an integrative role.

7.5.6 Summary of perspectives

The comparative analysis of conservation and socio-economic development at MCLWHS shows that heritage contributes more to socio-economic development than socio-economic development contributes to conservation. Most stakeholders are not away of the contribution of socio-economic initiatives to conservation. This discussion makes a case for acknowledging the contribution of

socio-economic development given its role in the identification of sites, documentation of heritage and development of management plans as part of EIA and HIA mitigation measures at heritage sites over the years. The study notes that the contribution of heritage to socio-economic development is not measured and as such recommends multiple qualitative and quantitative indicators/culture statistics borrowing from suggestions from stakeholders and adapting some of the existing indicators used to measure the localization of SDGs and national development plans. In the overall, the discussion recommends the co-existence of conservation and socio-economic development at MCLWHS. It further outlines socio-economic developments aspects that can be permitted at MCLWHS and how the nodal approach can be used to bring together various stakeholders to promote both conservation and socio-economic development.

7.6 Opportunities, challenges and stakeholders at MCLWHS

Having discussed the above thematic areas, this discussion now focusses on the opportunities and challenges for the multiple and multi-layered stakeholders of MCLWHS. This discussion is premised on the fact that understanding opportunities and challenges is a step towards improving stakeholder management and resolving conflicts arising out of their engagements. This, in turn, will inform the governance framework which World Heritage governance should embrace in handling stakeholder-driven conservation and socio-economic development processes at World Heritage sites such as MCLWHS.

7.6.1 Opportunities for stakeholders at MCLWHS

On the positive side, though all potential opportunities were ranked between 32% and 45%, communication with international and local levels were considered as important opportunities. While the study is more concerned with understanding local levels of World Heritage sites, it is possible to take advantage of the opportunity at international level to bring them closer to the empirical evidence emanating from grassroots experiences of MCLWHS on conservation and socio-economic development. The fact that 36% of the stakeholders are willing to attend meetings and another 23% have financial resources to do so, there is need to capitalize on the growing communication at local and national levels at MCLWHS. This confirms the observation of experts

at ASAPA (Harare) in 2015, who lamented the tendency by heritage institutions to consult stakeholder when they deem it necessary for their own benefit. This approach excludes them from participation in broader socio-economic planning processes at national levels and often, they discover development when it is already taking place.

Capitalizing on the appetite for communication among the stakeholder groups, heritage institutions should demonstrate the application of MMST at World Heritage sites, thereby demonstrate that heritage is able to contributes to socio-economic development as opposed to its reactionary approach. Communication at local and national levels should happen to consolidate on lessons learnt from the past towards defining a better and improved governance framework for implementation of both at MCLWHS. This heralds an opportunity of doing things differently at World Heritage sites and getting different outcomes. This has the potential of offering a different model in implementing a stakeholder-driven conservation and socio-economic processes at World Heritage sites. Without involving other stakeholders, World Heritage runs the risk of self-engineered side-lining from mainstream development in Africa. For example, building datasets on the economic evaluation of heritage and its contribution to Gross Domestic Product requires dialogue with stakeholders who are the custodians of such primary data.

7.6.2 Challenges for stakeholders at MCLWHS

The challenges identified by the multiple and multi-layered stakeholders at MCLWHS are dominated by lack of financial resources, followed by communication challenges at national and provincial levels, politics, time constraints in attending meetings, communication among stakeholders at local international levels. The lack of financial resources, communication (national and provincial levels), and politics at MCLWHS points more to localised challenges. Financial resourcing affects the active and consistent participation of stakeholders in decision making processes at the site. Learners, impoverished IDCs and older generations may not have financial liquidity to participate in the governance of MCLWHS. Therefore, decisions are taken in their absence and they are only informed of the same through public platforms such as media and websites, or through protracted Park Forum Meetings. In order to allow active participation of stakeholders, especially the IDCs, SANParks should provide such resources on defined terms.

Though this has been done in the past it's not consistent and regular due to budgetary implications. On the other hand, other profitable stakeholders should also budget for these meetings as part of their engagement towards mutually beneficial outputs in this competitive and contested environment pitting conservation against socio-economic development. The study recognises that the profile and economic status of respondents (young and old people without incomes) could have influenced this ranking. However, investment into stakeholder active participation process maybe a panacea to the emotional association and crisis management mode in which World Heritage sites usually find themselves in. That crisis mode denotes a retrospective engagement in the face of an active issue, rather proactively pre-empting issues before a crisis with all interested and affected stakeholders.

The challenge around communication at national and provincial levels is testimonial to the nature and methodologies of communication employed by MCLWHS. Communication is key to any dialogue, and in nature can be verbal, non-verbal (observation) or written. In this analysis, all these are collectively considered. The prevalence of the communication challenges at MCLWHS could be a sign of mistrust, lack of transparency, and absence of defined channels of communication among stakeholders (Aas *et al*, 2015). Absence of communication can lead to unnecessary legal battles as was the case of MCLWHS during the coal extraction saga, which bordered on counter accusations on the non–disclosure of information among stakeholders. Hierarchical communication structures employed by SBMS such as SANParks, are fraught with bureaucracy, confidentiality and secrecy which inhibits effective communication (Aas *et al.*, 2015). Some details are considered sensitive yet it is critical to solicit honest and informed opinions from interested and affected stakeholders on specific matters. Even though formal structures of heritage institutions are necessary, they sometimes, and when coupled with cultural norms, make it "difficult to elicit the opinions of certain stakeholders" (Pedersen, 2002: 38). Another aspect to consider is that open and transparent communication may be seen as a threat to the powers of management authorities at World Heritage sites (Pedersen, 2002:38).

At an operational level, site managers are known to resist "supplying pertinent information to interest groups" (Pedersen, 2002: 38). This only breeds distrust, thereby limiting the site manager's ability to deal with the public in a transparent and honest manner (Pedersen, 2002: Keith, 1994).

This does not mean that other stakeholders do not behave likewise. They are also equally to blame as they are not entirely honest all the times. For instance, the lack of trust between the Mapungubwe Coalition Group and Coal of Africa, led to litigation after the former accused the latter of not disclosing critical information. The same mistrust ensued also during the trade off negotiations between DEA and Coal of Africa, even in the hands of a broker between the Parties. Integrity and credibility are issues that stakeholders operating should improve in order to speed up the amicable resolution of contentious issues beyond legislative means at World Heritage Sites. While issues of power and control cannot disappear from the radar of SBMS, a collective participatory and collaborative approach may improve communication among stakeholders (Keith, 1994; Hillman & Michael, 1999; Morrel, 2007). Collaboration is of key importance in building trust among stakeholders which then improves communication (Pedersen, 2002: Ury *et al.*, 1983).

Politics is not only a challenge at MCLWHS only, but is rather widespread at other World Heritage sites across the world. Furthermore, political challenges are not new as the past is always contested. This has intensified and contemporary politics are filtering into the 1072 World Heritage Convention decision making processes at unprecedented levels compared to its formative years (Meskell, 2011). Even the World Heritage Committee, has become a politically polarised with increased role of politically appointed permanent delegations to UNESCO and Ambassadors of States Parties. The multilateral and bilateral agreements signed between State Parties has gradually become a sources of garnering support in relation to World Heritage decision. This also includes the use of bilateral arrangements of Economic blocks such as the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS), Southern Africa Development Community (SADC), African Union (AU), Common Market for East and Southern Africa (COMESA), International Monetary Fund (IMF), World Bank, the coalition of Brazil, Russia, India, China and South Africa (BRICS), and many others. In the case of MCLWHS, political contestations also confirm the role of the site in establishing national identity in a once racially fractured nation (Pikirayi, 2016). Nation building and social cohesion are tools used to politicize heritage as a unifying factor in South Africa. However, IDCs of MCLWHS are themselves political divided, along political lines characterizing the rainbow nation of South Africa. As demonstrated by the archival analysis of stakeholders in this study, politics is as old as the site itself, and this has filtered into the land restitution, decisions around socio-economic developments and establishment of the GMTFCA at MCLWHS.

At another level, Government departments are also in constant political conflict mode, especially DEA and DMR, who have varying roles and mandates in implementing the compliance framework of the site in its four-tier status. At the height of the coal extraction debacle at MCLWHS, DEA was in Paris (France) defending the decision to allow extraction of coal on the basis that no further exploratory and mining permits would be issued by the State Party in the area. Simultaneously, and in South Africa on the same day, DMR publicly declared that they would be issuing prospecting licences for mineral exploration around MCLWHS. Though, UNESCO eventually agreed to a buffer zone modification and coal extraction at MCLWHS, national tensions articulated above are testimonial to the fact politics is here to stay at World Heritage sites. UNESCO bowed down to national political dynamics and localised aspirations at MCLWHS, at the expense of holding up conservation ethos.

This tension between the DEA and DMR is still visible though efforts have been made to harmonise their approaches at World Heritage sites and in Protected Areas. For instance, discussions around new inscriptions such as Barberton Mountains in Mpumalanga, where mining is a threat to the geosites outside Protected Areas raised some tensions during SAWHCC meetings. The inscription of this site was hanging in balance as political principals had to make the final decision on the matter, even though credibility of the OUV had been provisionally accepted by WHC and IUCN. These conflicting political messages and decisions leave other stakeholders in limbo and not sure of the actual position of the State Party and their role in the process. At some level, it could be interpreted as egos of political principals playing out at MCLWHS. This political behaviour persuades stakeholders to align themselves towards decisions that can make their own dreams a reality. What is amazing, is that political principals (ministers) sit in the same cabinet meetings where such contradictory decisions are taken.

However, politics can be used to achieve positive results for society through the actions of the State Party in relation to socio-economic development at World Heritage Sites. Such an example is the case of Selous Game Reserve, where the State Party of Tanzania is now extracting uranium. The favourable decision of the World Heritage Committee was granted against heavy political lobbying, which at some point witnessed over 30 officials from Tanzania attending a side event to

lobby other State Parties in 2012 during a Committee session in Paris (France). At a political level, the request for boundary modification was premised on the sovereign right of the State Party to deal with poverty but at the same time retain the outstanding universal value of the site. At a technical level, and in terms of the Operational Guidelines on the Implementation of the 1972 World Heritage Convention, the request to the World Heritage Committee was premised on the provisions for minor boundary modifications. What complicated this technical premise was the need to respect the commonly agreed principle of "no go zone" signed between IUCN and the mining community barring any form of mining in natural World Heritage sites. The latter was difficult to enforce at MCLWHS because it is under the category of culture, of which ICOMOS was not part to this agreement. Despite the "no go zone" policy, the State Party of Tanzania kept emphasizing the provisions of the Operational Guidelines on the Implementation of the 1972 World Heritage Convention as subsuming this IUCN and MMC agreement. At home, the President was consistent with his position that World Heritage should not be an obstacle to development, a position that the State Party still maintains in the present. This political position almost witnessed the Government considering withdrawing from the 1972 World Heritage Convention to pave way for the Uranium project. As a diplomatic approach, the State Party stopped developing further nomination files for sites on her Tentative List, as inscription would bring these exploitation limits, despite sovereign rights to do so. Politics is thus a double-edged sword that can be used by any stakeholder to their own advantage and MCLWHS is not an exception at all.

Challenges such as time constraints in attending meetings, and communication among stakeholders at local levels are all integrated and accounted for in the local matrixes and factors at the site. The physical distance between MCLWHS and current locations of most of the stakeholders, for instance IDCs, learners, and academics affiliated to Universities scattered all over South Africa, makes it difficult to have time to attend meetings. It also makes it difficult to have consistent and effective communication at local levels given the varying access to communication platforms for stakeholders. Their only opportunity is meetings called and funded by the State Party for a specific discussion, which in most cases already has a predetermined position which they must endorse. This matter requires creativity and innovation around creating accessible platforms for stakeholders such as the recently launched Mapungubwe Annual Lecture which could be tailor-made to promote dialogue among stakeholders on strategic issues relating to MCLWHS.

Participation in such creative platforms should be broadened to include as many stakeholders as possible. This could become the MCLWHS Triennial Stakeholder Session, which could be strategically used to promote stakeholder-driven conservation and socio-economic development dialogue at the site. This may unlock common ground around strategic partnership on these two contentious issues. Of course, stakeholders would have to adopt a crowdfunding approach to make the Triennial Session sustainable instead of just relying on SANParks only.

7.6.3 Summary of perspectives

The discussion on the opportunities and challenges for the stakeholders of MCLWHS revealed that there are more challenges affecting stakeholders than opportunities at MCLWHS. The opportunities identified revolve around building on the appetite for communication at local, provincial and national levels. On the other hand, multiple challenges were identified and lack of financial resources and communication at national levels are dominating. This reinforces the level at which stakeholders are involved in the decision-making process around conservation and socio-economic developments at the site. The discussion argues that these challenges can be turned into opportunities for developing an inclusive stakeholder approach as argued by MMST in this study.

7.7 Overarching discussion on Stakeholder perspectives at MCLWHS

Based on the above discussion in this chapter, the following overarching perceptions and decision-making powers on stakeholder driven conservation and socio-economic development emerge at MCLWHS.

7.7.1 Stakeholder profiling at MCLWHS

On the *stakeholder profiles and their knowledge of MCLWHS*, the study confirms the five stakeholder categories proposed in the MMST (see 7.2.3) as existing at MCLWHS and these are dominated by young people and those above 60 years old. Regarding the knowledge perceptions of these five stakeholder categories on the values of the site, culture and education are considered the most important ones, yet currently SANParks has a strong bias towards natural values as a

Protected Area. While culture values are considered the most important ones, the IDCs argue that the spirituality and sacredness of MCLWHS have been ignored for centuries and this needs to be corrected through research and re-interpretation of the site. This should be done in partnership with IDCs themselves as the producers of this knowledge. In particular terms, academics, followed by local communities, mainly constituted by IDCs in the area are the dominant stakeholder categories at the site. The existence of these categories of stakeholders reinforce the need of adopting MMST approach at MCLWHS. These stakeholders are traceable from the precolonial period, through to the colonial and post-apartheid period. The identified and confirmed five stakeholder categories at MCLWHS are classified according to the typologies proposed by the MMST (see chapter four):

a. Stakeholders with 'universalized' interests, power and means to impose decisions at World Heritage sites in localities of development, among them UNESCO, World Heritage Committee and Advisory Bodies.
b. Stakeholders with 'nationalized' interest, power and means to make double-barrelled decisions at World Heritage sites and these include State Parties, national heritage departments and other state-appointed authorities.
c. Stakeholders with a 'localized' interest but without power to take decisions and implement them at World Heritage sites, and these are mainly constituted by IDCs in their multiple manifestations, traditional organizations, universities and influential individuals.
d. Stakeholders with an interest and means to exploit renewable and non-renewable resources at World Heritage sites and these include private sector (extractive industries, commercial farmers, tourism operators), bilateral and multilateral development partners in their diversity.
e. Stakeholders with 'non-legalized interests', but have influential voice and means to influence conservation and socio-economic development decisions at World Heritage sites and these are represented by professional associations and non-governmental organizations.

The research confirms that MMST can be applied to manage these stakeholder categories at World Heritages sites as part of the adaptive management approach. This is because MMST argues that if local and national perspectives are ignored or replaced by global dimensions of World Heritage

governance, this has far reaching consequences for the future of conservation in developing nations. MMST acknowledges that though conflicts may arise between and among the identified multiple and multi-layered stakeholders of World Heritage sites, ignoring them makes heritage more vulnerable to destruction in the long term. The future of World Heritage lies in the hands of multiple and multi-layered stakeholders, especially IDCs, who are often overlooked but are a localized force without adaptive capabilities built on their traditional experiences over centuries. In the contemporary era, their socio-economic needs make them wield power that can either support or not support World Heritage in Africa. While MMST recognizes that heritage management encompasses application of national laws and international conventions that protect sites, it also argues that there are more benefits realizable from negotiated agreements with other stakeholders operating at the site and at various levels. Therefore, SBMS have to adopt an inclusive governance framework as an enabler for stakeholder-driven conservation and socio-economic development at World Heritage sites.

7.7.2 Stakeholders and management of heritage

From the onset the research desired to understand the *roles and responsibilities of stakeholders in the management of MCLWHS*. The research shows that the majority of the multiple and multi-layered stakeholders identified are involved in the management of the site, however, they are not familiar with the management plan, nor do they know the effectiveness of these tools in protecting the site. They are neither consulted on the implementation of national and international heritage legislations at MCLWHS, nor are they involved in the decision-making processes of conservation at all. This may point to the fact that stakeholders do not understand what management is all about, while the physical disconnect between them and the site accounts for them not being familiar about the management plans and related tools as it's not their business. It is most likely that they are involved on a needs basis by the SANParks at the site. This is confirmed by the 'average' involvement of stakeholders in the decision-making process at MCLWHS. From a theoretical perspective, these stakeholders considered their involvement in the decision-making process very important, but on the other, and at a practical they do not provide any resources towards the management of the site. Stakeholders cannot only desire to be given a responsibility without bring

some form of resources to assist with the management processes and give them leverage in the decision making process at World Heritage sites.

Therefore, and from a governance perspective, this confirms the dominance of SBMS at MCLWHS, a situation that needs correction through adoption of MMST. The current status demonstrates that SBMS are still in charge because of the powers bestowed upon them through legal mandates and resources they have to implement their own decisions. Despite the advent of democracy at political level, heritage governance has remained in the realm of colonial philosophy. World Heritage governance requires an adaptive management approach building on the opportunities enshrined in the interests and technical capacity of other stakeholders at the sites. World Heritage governance has to allow multivocality on issues of conservation and socio-economic development at heritage sites. Heritage governance cannot remain in the realm of scientists, all-knowing experts and State Parties, yet it operates in localities of development. This process needs to explore the quality and effectiveness of involving other stakeholders, in particular IDCs, given their cultural connection with the MCLWHS. IDCs need to be given a role in the governance of MCLWHS.

The power enshrined in the mandates of State Parties and the World Heritage Committee, and their support systems, have not been adequately used in a pragmatic way to increase and demonstrate the relevance of World Heritage to local livelihoods beyond tourism controlled by heritage institutions. Tourism at World Heritage sites should not remain a privy and benefit accruing to SBMS. Society should get tangible benefits from tourism and heritage institutions can facilitate this in a creative and innovative manner supported by adaptive management thinking. What State Parties and UNESCO can do, is to work with other stakeholders operating at local level to uphold the principles of conservation and sustainable development at World Heritage sites, but providing alternatives to their socio-economic needs.

7.7.3 Stakeholders and socio-economic developments

Another critical aspect of this research was to understand how stakeholders construct socio-economic values, including the level of beneficiation from the socio-economic developments at

MCLWHS. Stakeholders at MCLWHS are aware of tourism, infrastructure, agriculture and mining happening at the site. Tourism is considered the most dominant one. What is also interesting is that extractive industries are lowly ranked by stakeholders as a development option despite the hype it has created at the site. This is likely linked to its negative impacts at the site and many other World Heritage sites. The history of the site and its four-tier recognitions (national heritage site, national park, GMTFCA and World Heritage site) give impetus to these highly ranked socio-economic activities at MCLWHS in its broader regional context. However, stakeholder influence in the decision making around these socio-economic developments is very low at the site. More worrisome, is that stakeholders are not aware of any benefits accruing to them from socio-economic activities at the site. Also, regarding how stakeholders impact each other at MCLWHS from a socio-economic perspective, the average ranking demonstrates that stakeholders have different interests and outcomes at the site, and not necessarily look out for each other. This may be attributed to the dysfunctional connection among stakeholders largely influenced by power, legitimacy and resources. This is also linked to their low involvement in the decision-making process of socio-economic activities at the site. This means those with power and resources make decisions on socio-economic activities and it is for their own benefit.

If socio-economic development is for the benefit of society, then MMST may offer a platform for them to be involved in the decision-making process on these matters. For instance, the study recommends creative and innovative re-interpretation and presentation of MCLWHS with the assistance of IDCs as knowledge producers and role-players in the guiding services. The study further recommends that MCLWHS has to deliberately create formal governance structures accommodating IDCs with a view of implementing this. the views of IDCs on spirituality and sacredness of the landscape, should be leveraged like what happens with the annual Kuomboka Dance Festival at Barotse Cultural Landscape (Zambia). The festival has become a very successful but community controlled tourism magnet benefiting the IDCs at Barotse.

7.7.4 Comparative analysis of conservation and socio-economic development

Another dimension of this research was to understand in comparative terms, how conservation and socio-economic development relate to each other at MCLWHS. Firstly, conservation is

contributing more to socio-economic development at MCLWHS through tourism, infrastructure development and regulatory frameworks. This means culture is a catalyst for socio-economic development. On the other hand, stakeholders are not aware how socio-economic development contributes to conservation at MCLWHS. It is recommended that more research is needed on this aspect as there is empirical evidence that shows how it has contributed to heritage identification, documentation and development of management plans as part of mitigation against impacts of development. This requires integrated planning between conservation and socio-economic development to avoid silo approach focussed on respective mandates and outputs at the site.

Second, and regarding how to measure the contribution of heritage to development indicators of nations, MCLWHS demonstrated this measurement is an area lacking in the implementation of World Heritage. This measurement suffers from paucity of data and cultural statistics research towards creating a baseline for monitoring the alignment of conservation to development goals and indicators. Stakeholders recommended multiple indicators that can be used, some of which are consistent with those used for measuring SDGs. This requires investment in this kind of research (in partnership with development agencies and universities) as it is an opportunity that can bring relevancy of World Heritage closer to society. Such research may unlock the political support and resource needed for the effective management of heritage in a holistic and inclusive, thereby securing its future as a catalyst for development, but without losing its conservation inclination.

Third, the study re-confirmed that conservation and socio-economic development should co-exist at World Heritage sites as stakeholder-driven processes. Stakeholders profiled tourism and related infrastructure as the most likely form of development in the future at these sites despite its low return to them. This confirms the success of SANParks in raising awareness on conservation and the application of sustainable developments principles as a catalyst for balancing conservation and development at World Heritage sites.

7.7.5 Opportunities and challenges for stakeholders at MCLWHS.

From a governance perspective, the are more challenges than opportunities existing for promoting stakeholder driven conservation and socio-economic developments at MCLWHS. The challenges

that need to be converted into opportunities at MCLWHS, include lack of resources, ineffective communication at national and provincial levels, communication among stakeholders themselves, politics and time constraints for attending meetings. This requires creativity and innovation that comes with involving multiple and multi-layered stakeholders using MMST as the medium. This pattern confirms the rationale for this study, towards building empirical evidence on stakeholder-driven conservation and socio-economic development at MCLWHS. While these challenges look insurmountable, they are actually opportunities for developing a responsive and inclusive governance framework at MCLWHS. This also shows that the challenges facing conservation and socio-economic developments at World Heritage sites in Africa cannot only be answered by applying principles of SD, but require solutions from stakeholders. This requires doing things differently to attain different results at MCLWHS.

In terms of opportunities, the study brings to the fore the following issues: there is communication opportunity at international and local levels at the site furthering reinforcing the latter should be influencing the former in the process of implementing the local-global nexus of the MMST. Governance of MCLWHS should be creative in mobilizing resources to support grassroots communication, which provides empirical views to global processes at the site. Communication is key to stakeholder management at MCLWHS. In a futuristic way of thinking, it is naive for anyone to think that conservation and socio-economic initiatives will always deliver on their full promises to stakeholders. There are inherent public relations promises in both processes that have to be sanitized as part of this stakeholder-driven process at World Heritage sites. The study acknowledges that there are no equal benefits and roles for stakeholders in balancing conservation and socio-economic development at World Heritage sites, but what is needed is turning contestants into solution bearers for their own challenges towards meeting their own needs.

7.8 Conclusion

The research confirms that conservation and socio-economic development should co-exist at MCLWHS. This co-existence can be traced to pre-colonial times. Balancing conservation and socio-economic development requires an adaptive management approach to address the observed average involvement of stakeholders at MCLWHS. This cannot be divorced from assessing the

elasticity and relevance of heritage legislation and Conventions in embracing conservation and socio-economic development as a stakeholder-driven process at MCLWHS. This approach is in line with the application of good governance in stakeholder relations (King IV Code, 2016). The 'King IV Code on Corporate Governance', in particular, Principle 16 states that institutions should "adopt a stakeholder-inclusive approach that balances the needs, interests, and expectations of material stakeholders in the best interest of the organization over time" (King IV Code, 2016). This is what SBMS responsible for World Heritage should adopt. The research also reiterates the importance of the principles of sustainable development but also points out that some socio-economic developments are not sustainable in their nature, for instance mining. This reinforces the need to conduct empirical testing of the recently adopted World Heritage Policy on Sustainable Development at World Heritage sites. Bringing this empirical evidence is closely linked to the localization of SDGs in developing nations alongside conservation.

The research points out that socio-economic development constitutes grassroots and stakeholder-driven issues, which are now determinants of how conservation should respond to changing local context. Through these grassroots issues, stakeholders are now sources of solutions to their own challenges at the local levels. These solutions can only be unlocked through psychological, social, political and stakeholder empowerment. Psychological empowerment emanates from self-esteem and pride of cultural practices/traditions which are embedded in the values of the site (YuLong & Hunter, 2015). Social empowerment is derived from increased community cohesion when they are brought together, while economic empowerment is through maintaining ownership/control of resources (YuLong & Hunter, 2015: Scheyvens, 2003; Williams, 2003). On the other hand, political empowerment, is derived from participating in decision making process, development of leadership, and increased local governance over resources (YuLong & Hunter, 2015; Sofield, 2003). This provides stakeholders with the opportunity to "choose the ability to make decisions, the capacity to implement/apply those decisions, acceptance of responsibility for those decisions, actions and their consequences, and outcomes directly benefiting the community and its members" (Sofield, 2003: 112). Stakeholder empowerment is more "action-driven" and does aim at "changing power structures to remove barriers that prevent people from participation" (YuLong & Hunter, 2015: 254; CDX, 2008). This is important in managing the multiple land uses and their impacts on World Heritage sites in Africa as part broader territorial management aligned towards

meeting the livelihoods of society. Without understanding the evolving and multiple land uses of cultural landscapes such as MCLWHS, heritage governance is not in a position to negotiate with other competing socio-economic needs in the same locality.

Chapter 8: Conclusion: From local to global perspectives

"*From the "conservative single minded/focussed heritage professionals", the "smart and astute but often reckless politicians" to the often "innocent but NOT naive" communities and the "fence sitter bureaucrats" who do not dare take any blame from any quota*": Professor George Abungu, 2019

8.1 Introduction

This study concludes that conservation, stakeholders and their socio-economic needs are not mutually exclusive at World Heritage sites in Africa, and perhaps elsewhere. This connection can be traced back to the pre-colonial times of Africa. As a result, localizing sustainable development goals at World Heritage sites is now an inevitable stakeholder-driven process implemented alongside conservation. In order to link conservation with such broader territorial planning processes, World Heritage governance needs to embrace adaptive management and multidisciplinary approaches. Adaptive management is a change management approach needed towards making heritage governance become responsive to its socio-economic context. It is all about learning from experience and gathering information from multiple sources, with the objective of improving heritage governance approach. Multidisciplinary approach is defined as the adoption of cross-cutting and solution oriented heritage curricula at World Heritage sites. Both are stakeholder-driven processes characterized by innovation and creativity. These approaches are expected to make heritage governance more solution oriented as opposed to compliance enforcement. Future heritage practitioners and the multiple and multi-layered stakeholders have the responsibility of becoming part of the solution to their own challenges in balancing conservation and socio-economic development at heritage sites. The study concludes that an adaptive management approach is an ideal governance framework but should be supported by inclusive stakeholder approaches in the form of the Multiple and Multi-layered stakeholder theory. This chapter further outlines limitations of this study and thematic areas not adequately addressed for future research. This is expected to further academic discourse on stakeholder-driven

conservation and socio-economic development processes at World Heritage sites. In the overall, the thesis argues that the World Heritage value proposition to its stakeholders at local levels should be the reason why it must remain in existence, especially in developing nations, which are hard-pressed for socio-economic development. This value proposition should be demonstrated by measurable quantitative indicators (culture statistics) demonstrating how heritage contributes to socio-economic development indicators.

8.2 World Heritage and Localization of Sustainable Development Goals

While World Heritage is a globalized concept, heritage itself is a function and a manifestation of society-driven processes at local levels. The same applies to socio-economic development which is also a local need for the society. In this context, the 'pristine approach' of the 1972 World Heritage Convention and the recreation of the "Edenic experience" (Nelson, 2003) at heritage sites in Africa should be dismantled through involving stakeholders and their experiences in the localisation of SDGs. Sustaining poverty in the name of conservation is no longer tenable in developing nations. If this is not corrected, it may become a pitfall that could threaten the existence of the 1972 World Heritage Convention in future. This is because the current conservationist approach has (i) the inability of embracing creative and innovative socio-economic uses of both renewable and non-renewable resources at heritage sites by different stakeholders, and (ii) this subsequently, demonstrates the inability of heritage institutions and related international bodies in accommodating broader socio-economic aspirations of stakeholders at heritage sites (Nelson, 2003). Addressing these pitfalls, means that UNESCO has to provide practical guidance to assist States Parties on applying innovative and creative solutions to maintain a balance between what are often conflicting needs of conservation and socio-economic at World Heritage sites. This implies that decisions around conservation and socio-economic development should be foremost local before trying to align themselves with global dimensions. If such decisions do not make sense or provide meaningful outputs at the local level, they are likely not to be supported by the multiple and multi-layered stakeholders at that level in which World Heritage sites are located. There is no harm in global dimensions supporting rather appropriating local aspirations at World Heritage sites.

From the views of the stakeholders and existing literature, conservation and socio-economic development cannot be mutually exclusive as they are local processes driven by stakeholders. Both have a commitment to the present and future generations through the catalytic processes of sustainable development and culture as a catalyst for development. When handling them, it cannot be either conservation or socio-economic development, but rather how the two can co-exist and mutually benefit from each other on a daily basis at World Heritage sites. Their co-existence should be sensitive and responsive to the current needs of stakeholders with room for future options. It should also be sensitive to the environment of policies, strategies, planning, and execution of development programmes, and stringency in defining the characteristics and nature of technologies that can be used to ensure the maintenance of environmental quality and the conservation of natural capital stock, which is imperative for sustainable development (Moukala, 2019). The commitment to the future of heritage should not be in perpetuate without benefiting current generations, but this should be done in a sustainable manner. This requires a shift in the thinking and mindsets of heritage institutions in order to demonstrate that conservation is for socio-economic development. Conservation should not only be concerned with mitigating the actual and perceived negative impacts of socio-economic developments, but it should also bring positive and measurable benefits to society, as well as offer alternative solutions to developments deemed a threat to World Heritage sites. The World Heritage community and UNESCO should 'work and walk' with the State Parties in developing such alternative solutions.

The localization of SDGs put forward in this study, implies liaising with stakeholders for strategic partnerships at a local level and taking advantage of their lifelong experiences in building adaptive decision making tools. It also means building and embracing experts from the public sphere sectors beyond the heritage discipline (ADCOM 2017/2). The self-view of heritage practitioners of being the all-encompassing 'experts' needs behavioural and mind-set change. Heritage practitioners have to develop this behavioural and mind-set ability to listen to other experts in areas where they are not competent. Heritage practitioners are not experts in all other spheres of broader socio-economic programming, planning and strategy development. The term 'expert' should be used in relative context and not be abused to justify preferred positions for the benefit of conservation only in a sea of poverty affecting society at heritage sites. The Heritage experts can

only play a catalytic role towards building bridges for conservation to support socio-economic development, being a broader territorial planning process. There is need for heritage governance to accommodate other experts in areas of specialization beyond conservation in its decision-making processes at heritage sites.

Localization of SDGs makes an assumption that sustainable development can guarantee conservation of heritage (UNESCO, 2010), however this may not be entirely true. While this is theoretically sound, empirical evidence has shown that not all socio-economic developments are sustainable. Examples of this include some categories of extractive industries (in particular mining) and subsistence farming that are not sustainable. Such developments pose known, unknown and perceived threats at World Heritage sites. Despite inherent negative aspects of mining such as pollution, impact on vegetation patterns, (among many others), such developments are also known to positively impact the livelihoods of local communities in a much bigger (but short term) and measurable scale compared to the limited benefits accruing from conservation by heritage institutions. This imbalance of negative impact and positive benefits needs to be addressed in an inclusive and holistic way with all affected and interested stakeholders being involved. This will assist in "addressing threats and challenges to conservation arising from activities generated well outside their limits" (UNESCO, 2010: 4). This, placed in the context of World Heritage in its broader geographic location, suggests that "innovative approaches to governance" are required (UNESCO, 2010: 4). The World Heritage Policy on Sustainable Development approved by the World Heritage Committee, should be put to test through localisation of SDGs at more World Heritage sites. This includes exploring whether we should continue using the political accepted term 'sustainable development' or we should rather focus on sustainability at World Heritage sites to cater for both conservation and social well-being of stakeholders. This will provide the much needed empirical evidence on the applicability sustainability at local levels as started by this study. This localisation requires an Adaptive Management approach.

8.3 World Heritage governance and Adaptive management approach

It is evident that World Heritage governance represents an "extremely complex" system involving multiple stakeholders at various levels of the site (IPACC, 2017). The traditional approach of

heritage legal instruments, including the 1972 World Heritage Convention, cannot continue without becoming more responsive to the socio-economic needs of society. The study reiterates that the "bureaucratic forms of protection" (Selman, 2004: 366) persisting in Africa are insufficient in sustaining cultural landscapes given the increasing socio-economic demands of stakeholders. Reducing the role of stakeholders to legal compliance as opposed to being a moral, ethical, constructive, responsive and inclusive process building on the MMST presented in this study, threatens the future of heritage. In the present, managing cultural landscapes use at local levels requires a lot of conscious effort from the stakeholders (Selman, 2007). As such, heritage management cannot afford to remain in a static conservation mode while operating in a changing socio-economic environment. It has to become a dynamic adaptive process replacing "the usual sector or one-dimensional approaches with new transversal or multidimensional ones" (Ripp, 2018: 2). This will allow it to align with different broad policy areas and resources thereby accounting the role of each part in the whole processes of governance (European Union, 2010).

The African Union Agenda 2063 desires to develop and adopt a fully participatory and bottom-up governance approach to conservation and development (AWHF, 2015). Even the Framework Convention on the Value of Cultural Heritage for Society (Faro Convention) adopted in Europe in 2005, clearly indicates that human development and quality of life should become goals of conservation. It further articulates that it is important to involve society in the "ongoing process of defining and managing cultural heritage" (Council of Europe, 2005: Faro Convention, Article 1c). Conservation, local and regional development have become global challenges that require mediation through various governance structures (Pike *et al.*, 2017; Tomlinson & Branston, 2017). This mediation is shaping stakeholder intervention (Davidson-Hunt, *et al*., 2016; Pike *et al.*, 2017). It is evident that heritage has become a social and political construct reflecting the interests and needs of society in its diversity (Labadi & Logan, 2015). If heritage governance is to deal with these social and political constructs at World Heritage sites, it has to embrace adaptive management approaches (Chirikure *et al*., 2016; Leick & Lang, 2018).

Adaptive management approach is defined as the continual learning process which can be used for site-specific management in changing circumstances (Walters, 1986). This approach is not reactive but responsive in nature compared to the SBMS operating at World Heritage sites. It enhances

"information flow among policy actors, and provides opportunities for creating shared understandings" as a responsive decision making approach (McLain & Lee 1996: 437). The approach borrows from adaptive control process theory which provides a framework for constructing decision making controls by learning from experiences (Bellman 1961). The approach also anticipates how to deal with any unforeseen surprises in the management process and also has the ability to see broad impact of policies (Timmerman, 1986). Central to adaptive management is consultation, collaboration, monitoring and quantitative models and simulations (Schreiber, *et al.,* 2004). In the main, adaptive management approach is learning by doing. This approach incorporates "knowledge from multiple sources, makes use of multiple systems models, and support new forms of cooperation among stakeholders (McLain & Lee, 1996: 437). Being proactive and creative is necessary to develop and foster effective stakeholder collaborations at World Heritage sites. Engagement and involvement of stakeholders can neither be quantified as too little or too much (Louw & Venter, 2013: Bryson, 2004).

With adaptive management approach, authorized heritage discourse cannot remain outside the realm of societal needs and interests (Smith, 2006; Siravo, 2014). Also, maintaining the famous slogan "conservation for future generations" has become impossible as current practice dictates that no generation is allowed to enjoy the benefits of this future by consistently deferring rights of access to this resource and many others in its proximity. Whoever has been viewed as the future generation in the 'past', should be given reasonable use rights in the present as this is their time, rather than them remain restrained in perpetuity. By advocating for adaptive management approach, the study is not saying conservation is not important. Neither is it saying the catalytic principles of sustainable development are not important. The point is that, heritage should begin to actively and positively demonstrate how it contributes in measurable terms to meeting the socio-economic needs of society as a going concern. This demonstration can only make sense if stakeholders are integrated into the governance of heritage through adaptive management approach, which rides on their experiences thereby opening an opportuning of 'solving mutual needs' at World Heritage sites.

The government and governmentality approach of SBMS needs to morph into this adaptive management approach. Simply put, this should constitute change management in heritage

management approach towards the systematic transformation of related governance structures and practices to become responsive to broader planning processes of society. Adaptive approach promotes a governance system characterised by a consensus-based, open, transparent and accountable framework (Philips, 2003: 16) as argued through MMST. This change management should build on the tenets of MMST, which encourages a local-global nexus. If adopted, Adaptive Management has the flexibility to encourage opinions, policy decisions, and local discussions to inform global processes. Global processes are often oblivious to socio-economic needs of stakeholders at World Heritage sites. This gives power to stakeholders who are often voiceless and lack the means to implement mutually beneficial decisions at World Heritage sites. Adaptive management supported by MMST does not allow heritage governance to ignore the powerless in the decision making processes in balancing conservation and socio-economic development at World Heritage sites. Local challenges require local solutions embedded in the functioning of an adaptive management approach, supported by MMST, at World Heritage sites.

8.4 Multi-disciplinary approach at World Heritage Sites

An adaptive management approach encourages exploration of different strategies and techniques based on the experiences of stakeholders in order to inform the decision making processes. It demands doing things differently in order to get different results. It shifts away from perpetual governance excuses on how colonialism affected and defined heritage management strategies without involving other stakeholders in Africa. It is time that we choose what to maintain as good practices from colonial frameworks, and what we think is not good and work towards making it what we want. Heritage management has not benefited from the unlimited innovation and creativity that comes with different disciplines other than heritage itself. One approach of harnessing innovation and creativity is adopting a multidisciplinary approach is solving challenges the society is facing in the present. Given the geographic contexts of heritage sites, which brings disciplines beyond the science of conservation, a multidisciplinary approach is needed. For instance, academic institutions, who are the producers of future heritage practitioners, can play a meaningful role in this process.

Unfortunately, most universities in Africa are still struggling with detaching themselves from historical and colonially choreographed course outlines designed to instil facts and philosophies towards producing experts (Taruvinga, 2018). The question is how can these choreographed courses be adapted to deal with the emerging challenges of society and heritage institutions as prospective employers of graduates at heritage sites? University curricula should not be a case where lecturers have mastered competencies only in these traditional courses more than they are prepared to explore new multidisciplinary thematic areas, which would make their courses dynamic and relevant to contemporary needs. The curricula should promote interdisciplinary mindsets by linking heritage courses to other disciplines such as tourism, development, entrepreneurship and product development, business management, economics, financial management, disaster risk plan, climated change and many others relevant to broader territorial planning processes. This interdisciplinary approach is critical in facilitating socio-economic development at World Heritage sites. Furthermore, Heritage training programmes should take a cue from technical and artisanal curricula which link students with current developments in their industry through well scheduled and timed work related learning modules.

A multi-disciplinary approach will prepare future heritage practitioners to become innovative and creative in interfacing conservation and socio-economic needs of society. This requires synergies and sharing of resources among universities themselves, and between universities and heritage institutions (Taruvinga, 2018). This transformation is not possible if it is not seen and implemented through the ‘eyes’ of the affected/interested stakeholders and the ‘lenses’ of the challenges that need to be solved (Taruvinga, 2018). Without understanding the challenges and operating outside the socio-economic context of the site, it makes solutions remain theoretical, temporary and consultant-dependent without transferring skills to the intended beneficiaries, including the stakeholders themselves, in particular local communities (Taruvinga, 2018). Therefore, alignment of university curricula to the interdisciplinary needs of the beneficiary sectors (heritage), will ensure the transfer of the highly sought after multi-faceted skills and interdisciplinary mind-sets in the management of World Heritage in Africa. African heritage curricula and frameworks should adopt a solution-based orientation towards mitigating conservation and socio-economic challenges emerging at World Heritage sites, including the glaring intergenerational skills gap in Africa

(Taruvinga, 2018). Heritage competence is not the only aspect needed for effective management of World Heritage sites.

8.5 Research limitations and areas for future research

While the study was very much an in-depth exploration gathering empirical experiences of stakeholder-driven conservation and socio-economic development processes at World Heritage sites, it also acknowledges the limitation of not addressing some issues in their broader elements due to the specific focus of this study. Stakeholder-driven conservation and socio-economic development processes at World Heritage sites is a broad and multifaceted theme for research which cannot be exhausted in single study like this one. The areas not addressed in depth include detailed analysis of governance systems and models, conflict or dispute resolution mechanism in heritage management, gathering of baseline indicators for measuring contribution of heritage to development and issues of nature-culture in amplifying heritage as a resource. While MCLWHS was considered in its four-tier status, the research only focused on the South African side of the GMTFCA, of which there is need to explore Zimbabwe and Botswana on similar issues to build a regional understanding on stakeholder-driven conservation and socio-economic development processes in the area as a whole. Also, the interviews conducted by IDCs were mainly focused on socio-economic issues, and did not look at their spirituality in the context of redefining the significance of the landscape in its broader context. The thesis was not about the reinterpretation of MCLWHS taking into consideration the views of these IDCS. The point is that this thesis initiated a conversation with the hope that future research will take some of these issues further.

From a futuristic research perspective, this study recommends further research on the impact of land restitution and the envisioned compensatory land-uses by claimants at World Heritage sites such as MCLWHS. This has become a central and political issue in Africa. The interests of IDCs on this matter are growing on a daily basis. Infact, land reform has become a moral, social and economic imperative for society. Failing to resolve the land issue means heritage governance is not part of the solution to the grassroots challenges these stakeholders are facing, in particular IDCs. Despite the existence of laws governing the use of reclaimed land in protected areas in South Africa, there are no guarantees as the land can change hands at any time. The impact of such

processes on World Heritage management needs to be understood on the basis of empirical studies. Another glaring gap that requires research is the building of baseline datasets on cultural statistics to measure the contribution of heritage to socio-economic development indicators. There are existing indicators that can be adapted and tested on the ground, including developing strategies to maintain momentum in this area.

While this study has discussed the inescapable relationship between conservation and socio-economic development as a stakeholder-driven process, there are other broad and specific issues requiring further research. These elements include policy integration, conservation and green technologies, adaptive reuse at heritage sites and political dimensions of conservation and socio-economic development. This also includes operationalizing the governance approach towards building empirical evidence that can assist in implementing the 1972 World Heritage Convention Policy on Sustainable Development. Last but not least, the application of people centred approaches in heritage management, especially in protected areas traditionally etched and preserved as enclaves of biodiversity, but have cultural values, requires further research. This paradigm shifts from the care of heritage only to that of pursuing the well-being of both heritage and society as a whole is now taking centre stage in heritage management (Thompson & Wijesuriya, 2018). This needs empirical testing to build resilient models benefiting from stakeholder experiences. However, this people centred approach is confronted with a different set of issues, some of them are traditional and include the decay of materials, interventions and authenticity, and issues of the health of plants and animals (Wijesuriya, 2018). Also the other new issues emerging identified but not dealt with in detail by this study are conflict resolution and rights-based approaches at World Heritage sites.

8.6 Conclusion: addressing grassroots challenges

While many researchers have written about conservation and socio-economic development, this study has provided some thoughtful and well-researched discussion on stakeholder driven conservation and socio-economic development at MCLWHS. From an empirical perspective, it highlights both opportunities and challenges in this process. The main opportunity is that conservation and socio-economic development are not exclusive to each other, so is heritage

governance and stakeholders in the post-colonial period of Africa. Africa and the quest for equitable development are inseparable. Neither is the past, present and the future exclusive to each other. This gives birth to an adaptive management approach at World Heritage sites as part of solving emerging challenges between conservation and socio-economic development. This opportunity and potential needs to be nurtured to maturation. The main challenge includes the slowness with which heritage governance has accepted socio-economic development at World Heritage sites for the benefit of the multiple and multi-layered stakeholders. This study indicates that the localization of SDGs will be the best strategy to ensure that heritage contributes directly to the socio-economic needs of society. This can be done through an adaptive management approach; 'learning by doing'. By doing so, it raises awareness among the multiple and multi-layered stakeholders on the need to conserve heritage but still meeting their livelihood needs.

With adaptive management approach, the multiple and multi-layered stakeholders have the capability of playing an increased role at World Heritage sites given their experience and understanding of how broader planning systems operate. This will benefit hard-line conservationist systems existing at World Heritage sites. Adaptive management approach has attained a degree of success in Australia, at the Kakadu WHS and in other Australian Northern Territory areas where different local communities are part of the decision making process (Schreiber, *et al*, 2004). For example, some have even entered into agreements with mining companies and derive royalties from them, whereas others have refused to allow mining and as a result are less affluent. Similarly, the agreements reached with the ǂKhomani and SANParks in the Kgaligadi National Park in South Africa are a good example of 'learning by doing' towards embracing adaptive management. However, this needs monitoring to assess effectiveness and where possible, implement adaptive changes. Such adaptive governance arrangements, though still in their infancy stage, are urgently needed at World Heritage sites in Africa. State-Based Management Systems should take the initiative to bring about such change management and resourcing them at World Heritage sites. There should be some legislation amendments or guidelines developed that shall provide an ordered process for such an approach in heritage management. The impact of World Heritage on society should not be defined only through number of sites inscribed, sites placed on the list of World Heritage in Danger, number of delisted site, conservation priorities or how activities in demarcated boundaries are restricted but should rather be interpreted as "linchpins of global

imaginaries and networks" creating room for "local and the trans-local" interconnection (Brumann & Berliner, 2016: 3). Such a framework shall induce change management that encourages information and decision making involving the multiple and multi-layered stakeholders, as well as strengthen relations among heritage institutions, stakeholders and society in its broader sense.

In the overall, World Heritage value proposition to its stakeholders should be the compelling reason why it must remain in existence as an international concept operating in a localized environment. World Heritage cannot continue misleading stakeholders on the level of socio-economic benefits accruing at World Heritage sites. The reality of socio-economic needs at World Heritage sites is no longer an assumption. Its increasingly becoming visible to be ignored by conservation. Conservation means nothing if it cannot give meaningful and measurable expression to socio-economic needs of stakeholders by allowing some degree of exploitation of both renewable and non-renewable resources at World Heritage sites. The reality is that stakeholders at grassroots levels want more than conservation alone at World Heritage sites. The future of World Heritage sites is dependent on how fast adaptive management is adopted by SBMS. The relationship among heritage, society and socio-economic needs will continue into the future, hence the need to urgently apply adaptive management approaches at World Heritage sites. Learning by doing is the solution at World Heritage sites.

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LIST OF APPENDICES

1. Appendix 1: Survey Instrument-Questionnaire

Questionnaire

Relationship between Socio-economic development and Mapungubwe Cultural Landscape World Heritage Site

My name is PASCALL TARUVINGA. I am a postgraduate student at the University of Cape Town (UCT), South Africa. I am carrying out research to investigate the relationship between conservation and socioeconomic development at Mapungubwe Cultural Landscape World Heritage site. Completing this questionnaire will take approximately 30 minutes. The information is solely for academic purposes. No names will be used in the analysis.

You are kindly requested to complete and submit the questionnaire no later than 31st September 2017 to: pastar143@yahoo.com

1. Section A: STAKEHOLDER PROFILE

Instruction: PLEASE TICK WHERE APPLICABLE

1.1. Name & Surname:

1.2. Gender

Male		Female	

1.3. Age

≤18		19-30		31-40		41-50		51-60		≥61	

1.4. Level of Education

Primary		Matric		Tertiary		University		Other	

1.5. District

1.6. Province

1.7. Country

1.8. Are you employed?

Yes		No	

1.9. Which category of stakeholders are you representing? (Please tick the applicable)

	Stakeholder Category	Tick the applicable	
1.	Academia		
2.	Local community		
3.	Heritage institution/organizations		
4.	Tourism		
5.	Agriculture		
6.	Extractive industries (mining)		
7.	Land owners		
8.	National Government		
9.	Provincial Government		
10.	Non-governmental organization		
11.	Regional-SADC		
12.	International		
13.	Other		(specify)

1.10. At what level do you operate as a Stakeholder of MCLWHS?

Individual		local		Provincial		National		Regional		International	

1.11. How long have you stayed in or interacted with? World Heritage sites?

≤5 yrs		6-10yrs		11-15		16-20		21-25		26-30		31-35yrs		≥36yrs	

2. Section B: STAKEHOLDER KNOWLEDGE ON WORLD HERITAGE

Instruction: PLEASE TICK WHERE APPLICABLE

2.1. What is the significance of a World Heritage site to you?

	Tick the applicable ones
Cultural values	
Biodiversity values	
Economic values	
Agriculture	
Tourism	
Mining	
Infrastructure	
Hunting	
Education values	
Social values	
Don’t know	

2.2. Are you responsible for the protection of any World Heritage site?

Yes		No		Don't know	

2.3. Are you familiar with the conservation plans of WHS?

Yes		No		Don't know	

2.4. Are these conservation plans effective in the protection of? World Heritage sites?

Yes		No		Don't know	

2.5. What are the socio-economic developments at? World Heritage sites?

Socio-economic developments	Tick the applicable ones	
Tourism		
Agriculture/farming		
Extractive industries (mining)		
Infrastructure		
Hunting		
Other		(specify)

2.6. Do you know anything about World Heritage?

	Tick the appropriate
Yes	
No	

3. Section C: STAKEHOLDER ROLES AND RESPONSIBILITIES

Instruction: PLEASE TICK APPROPRIATE ANSWER

3.1. What is your interest in? World Heritage sites?

	Tick the applicable ones
Conservation	
Socio-economic development	
Education	
Social	
Other	

3.2. Do you play any role in the protection of? World Heritage sites?

Yes		No		Don't know	

3.3 What resources do you provide for the protection of World Heritage sites as a stakeholder? (Please tick the applicable ones)

	Tick the applicable
Financial Resources	
Technical Resources	
Human Resources	
Social Corporate Responsibility	
Infrastructure	
Not sure	
Nothing	
Don't Know	
Other	

3.4 Do you extract any resources from a World Heritage Site?

Yes		No	

3.5 Do you involve local communities in your activities at the World Heritage Site?

Yes		No		Not applicable	

3.6 How important is it to have your perspective and experiences represented in the decision making processes of? World Heritage sites?

	Tick the applicable
Not important	
Important	
Very important	
Extremely Important	
Don’t know	

3.7 What motivates you to participate as a stakeholder of a World Heritage Site (please tick against the applicable boxes)

	Tick the applicable
Income	
Professional reasons	
Personal stake	
Commitment	
Other	

Don’t know	

3.8 What is your level of influence in decisions around conservation of a World Heritage Site? (Please tick the appropriate)

Very Low	
Low	
Average	
High	
Very High	
Not at all	
Don’t know	

3.9 What is the level of your influence in decisions on the following aspects of socio-economic development around a World Heritage Site?

Socio-economic developments	Tick the applicable for each aspect						
	Very low	Low	average	High	Very high	Not at all	Don’t know
Tourism							
Agriculture/farming							
Extractive industries (mining)							

Infrastructure development							
Hunting							
Other							

3.10 What is the level of your impact on the following stakeholders at MCLWHS?

Socio-economic developments	Tick the applicable for each aspect						
	Very low	Low	average	High	Very high	Not at all	Don't know
Local communities							
Tourists							
Learners							
Provincial Government							
National Government							
International community							

3.11 Were you consulted during the:

	Yes	No
Establishment of a National Park in your country?		
Inscription of World Heritage site as a National Heritage Site?		

Inscription of a site as World Heritage Site?		
Demarcation of the core area of a World Heritage Site?		
Demarcation of the buffer zone of a World Heritage Site?		
To decide developments at a World Heritage Site?		
And in the management of a World Heritage Site?		

3.12 What are the major issues and challenges affecting you as a stakeholder of a World Heritage Site?

Challenge/Issue		Yes	No
Lack of communication at::			
	Local level		
	Provincial		
	National		
	International		
	Among stakeholders		
Lack of financial resources			
Politics			
Time constraints in attending meetings			
Others::			

3.13 Have you ever attended any World Heritage Committee meetings? (please tick where applicable for both)

	Yes	No	Don't know	Would want to
At National level				
At International levels				

4 Section D: BENEFITS OF PROTECTING MCLWHS

Instruction: PLEASE TICK WHERE APPLICABLE

4.3 What is the level of benefits derived from the following aspects of socio-economic development at a World Heritage Site?

Socio-economic developments	Tick the applicable one for each aspect				
	No benefit	Low benefits	Average benefits	High benefits	Don't know

Tourism					
Agriculture/farming					
Extractive industries (mining)					
Infrastructure development					
Hunting					
Other					

4.4 What is the level of contribution of the following aspects to the protection and conservation of a World Heritage Site?

Socio-economic developments	Tick the applicable for each aspect						
	Very low	Low	average	High	Very high	Not at all	Don't know
Tourism							
Agriculture/farming							
Extractive industries (mining)							
Infrastructure development							
Hunting							
Other							

4.5 In your opinion, what is more important to you, conservation or socio-economic development at a

World Heritage Site? (Please tick)

	Very Important	Important	Not important	Don't know
Conservation				
Socio-economic development				
Both				

Section E: RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN CONSERVATION AND SOCIO-ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT IN MCLWHS

Instruction: PLEASE TICK WHERE APPLICABLE

4.6 Does heritage contribute to socio-economic development?

	Tick
Yes	
No	
Don't Know	

4.7 Does socio-economic development contribute to conservation?

	Tick
Yes	
No	

Don’t Know	

4.8 Should conservation and socio-economic development co-exist at a World Heritage Site?

	Tick
Yes	
No	
Not sure	
Don’t Know	

4.9 What kind of development should be allowed around a World Heritage Site?

	Tick applicable ones	
Tourism		
Agriculture		
Mining		
Infrastructure & Roads		
Human settlement		
Dam construction		
All		
Other		

4.10 How should the economic value of heritage or the contribution of heritage to the economy be measured? (Please tick the applicable ones)

	Tick applicable ones
Level of conservation	
Employment/Jobs created	
Number of Businesses/investors	
Number of tourists	
Revenue generated	
Contribution to Gross Domestic Product (GDP)	
Infrastructure development	
Return on investment	
Level of community development	
Other	

4.11 Who should be involved in deciding socio-economic developments at a World Heritage Site?

(Please tick all the applicable ones)

	Stakeholder Category	Tick the applicable ones	
1.	Academia		
2.	Local community		
3.	Heritage institution/organizations		
4.	Tourism		
5.	Agriculture		
6.	Extractive industries (mining)		
7.	Land owners		
8.	National Government		
9.	Provincial Government		
10.	Non-governmental organization		
11.	Municipalities		
12.	Regional-SADC		
13.	International		
14.	Other		(specify)

4.12 Are there any other options other than mining that can be selected to achieve socio-economic development in the area?

	Tick
Yes	
No	
Don't Know	

THANK YOU

2. Appendix 2: ASAPA ROUNDATBLE DISCUSSION (EXPERTS)

ASAPA CONFERENCE-2015

ROUNDTABLE SESSION

MULTIPLE AND MULTI-LAYERED STAKEHOLDER OF HERITAGE SITES

Theme: Multiple/Multi-layered Stakeholders and heritage management

The concept of "stakeholder" and "stakeholder theory" has gradually assumed a prominent place in heritage management in developing nations over the last few decades. Stakeholders are defined as "any individual or group who can affect or is affected by the actions decisions, policies and practices, or goals of the organization" (Bryson 2004[7]). Local communities are considered to be part of stakeholders of any site. Stakeholders can be separated into normative and derivative stakeholders. Normative stakeholders are those to "whom an organization has a direct moral to attend to their well-being" (Phillips *et al.,* 2003:489[8]) and these include financiers, customers, suppliers and local communities. Derivative stakeholders are those "groups or individuals who can either harm or benefit the organization, but to who the organization has no moral obligation as stakeholders" (Phillips *et al.,* 2003:489). These include competitors, activists/non-governmental organizations, terrorists and the media. While these categories are theoretically identified according to the basic stakeholder analysis technique, stakeholder power-interest matrix, legitimacy, influence capability, and the participation planning matrix, the practicality of doing this in the heritage is still in its infancy stage given years of narrowly focusing on local communities as the only stakeholders of the site. Heritage management should recognise a broad variety of possible stakeholders, who may vary according to legislation, socio-economic contexts, 'politics of the day', bi-lateral and multi-lateral engagements, and not necessarily provided in the legal framework governing heritage sites.

[7] John M. Bryson. 2004. What to do when stakeholders matter. Stakeholder Identification and Analysis Techniques. *Public Management Review*. Vol 6 Issue 1: 21-53: ISSN 1471-9045: DOI: 10.1080/14719030410001675722.

[8] Robert Phillips, R. Edward Freeman & Andrew C. Wicks. 2003. What stakeholder theory is not. *Business Ethics Quarterly*, Volume 13, Issue 4. ISSN 1042-150X: 479-502

Heritage management is now "entangled in power dynamics and tug of war" (Chirikure 2014[9]) of both normative and derivative stakeholders. Heritage management has become a paradox in that it is increasingly manifesting as 'the management of future change rather than simply the protection of the fabric of the past' and this requires collaboration with 'outsiders' (Bloemers 2010)[10] or "views and involvement of 'principal' stakeholders" (Nicholas *et al.*, 2009)[11] in order to make our expert knowledge suitable for policy and society. This session aims generate debate on the application of stakeholder theory in heritage management in Africa, especially against a background where local communities have been considered as the "important stakeholder" yet they are part of the broader normative and derivative stakeholders who have both positive and negative impact on heritage sites.

Sub Theme (s)

Recognising the reality that heritage institutions are confronted not only with purely economic changes but also with the growing complexities and dynamics of the social context in which they operate, the following issues should be addressed by the session:

1. How is stakeholder theory defined in heritage contexts? Is it different from corporate world perspective? What do the terms, stakeholder, multiple and multi-layered stakeholders mean for heritage sites?
2. How do we identify multiple and multi-layered stakeholders of site? What interests/stakes do they have, and how are these linked to the conservation of heritage sites?
3. What is the power, legitimacy, influence, capability and role of stakeholders in decision making on heritage matters? What level of influence do they have on heritage institutions and vice versa? What are the opportunities and challenges of involving stakeholders in the present models for management of heritage in Africa? What are their views on sustainable development in and around heritage sites?

[9] Shadreck Chirikure. 2014. Power Imbalance and unequal benefit at UNESCO World Heritage Site. Africa Review of Books/Revue Africaine des Livres. Vol 10, No 1-Mars 2014

[10] Tom J.H.F. Bloemers. 2010. The Cultural Landscape and Heritage Paradox *Protection and Development of the Dutch Archaeological-Historical Landscape and its European Dimension, in* Bloemers (*teal*) editors, The Cultural Landscape & Heritage Paradox. Protection and Development of the Dutch Archaeological-Historical Landscape and its European Dimension, Amsterdam Press: 3-16

[11] Lorraine Nicholas, Brines Thapa & Lori Pennington-Gray. 2009. Public sector perspectives and policy implications for the Pitons Management Area World Heritage Site, St Lucia. *International Journal of Sustainable Development & World Ecology*, 16:3, 205-216, DOI: 10.1080/13504500902919730.

4. What are the ethical and philanthropic responsibilities of both heritage institutions and stakeholders towards each other, and towards local communities languishing in extreme poverty? Do heritage institutions accommodate, negotiate, manipulate or resist stakeholder overtures for personal or professional reasons? How do we resolve stakeholder conflicts at heritage sites? Do stakeholders promise to local communities based on desire to uplift them or maximize their own profits?

Objectives

The seminar aims to achieve the following:

- Provide an understanding of how stakeholder theory and related elements apply to heritage management in an African context.
- Assist in developing a clear understanding on the processes and practical ways of engaging the multiple and multi-layered stakeholders of heritage sites.
- Understand ethical and philanthropic considerations of stakeholders and how it influences the ethics of heritage practitioners.
- Moving towards a stakeholder paradigm that brings both heritage institutions and stakeholders to a mutual platform on issues of conservation and sustainable development for the benefit of both and the targeted local communities with broader socio-economic needs.

Format of the session

Heritage practitioners, local communities, developers, non-governmental organizations, government department and agencies, private sector, academics, stakeholder theorists and individuals interested in contributing to the debate on the role and effectiveness of multiple and multi-layered stakeholders at heritage sites are invited to submit presentations on any of the sub themes. Each presentation should raise specific issues for discussion during the session leading up to recommendations for consideration by the conference. The panellist included Simon Makuvaza (Zimbabwe), Ndukuyakhe Ndlovu (South Africa), Tawanda Mukwende (Zimbabwe), Evelyn Mbwambo (Tanzania), Nonofho Ndobochani (Botswana), Yvette Kaboza (UNESCO Sub-regional Office (Harare), Albino Jopela (Mozambique), and Seke Katsamudanga (Zimbabwe).

5. **Contact person/Convenor**

Pascall Taruvinga
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3. Appendix 3: List IDCs at MCLWHS Inaugural Lecture (2017)

MAPUNGUBWE KINGDOM SEMINAR
Register of Attendance.

	Name	Organisation	Contact
(1)	Shadreck Chirikure	UCT	shadreck.chirikure@uct.ac.za
(2)	DR MUTAMBEDZO M.J.	VHANGONA	0795672053
3	Rev Ligege NN	Vhangona	0836186419
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9	Raselabe D.S.	Leshiba Royal	0824829989
	Zakiel-Mathabela. Royal Family.		0760151154
	Simone-Sethoga. Royal Family Member.		0633962254
12.	S.D. SIMATA " " "		0764737780
13	ALBERTO MASHAVA	Vhavhavamba	0715552917
14	SOLOMON L MAPHAKI	VHATWAMBA	0734204121
15	LOVEMORE MAKHOMISANI	Tshivhula (Tshivhula R.F)	0725356761
16.	Lucas Lishiba	Leshiba Royal family	0795634087
17	Precious Shabalala	University of Mpumalanga	0731627737 / 0843772169
18.	Chief Khwinda Nemulolani	Phaswe Royal (Vhangona)	0761591906
19.	Chief Matsuvhe Tshilande	Tshivhe Vhangona N. G. Movement	0799511246
20	PATRICK NEMAMILWE	VHANGONA	0829536573
21.	NEMAMILWE ALFRED	VHANGONA	072482 1556
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24.	Mudzielwana Mutsatsiwa Khomunala		0786717207
24.	Maungoye Godfrey Nephawe Khomunala Raphulu		Cell- 0796715677 / 0766829670
25.	MADZHUTO THANYANI	KRUGER NATIONAL PARK	0799116378
26.	LESEDI MLAMBO	FREEDOM PARK	0765066279
27.	THABISO MAAKE	FREEDOM PARK	0828540715
28.			

MAPUNGUBWE KINGDOM SEMINAR
REGISTER 31/08

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29. Precious Shonisani University of Mpumalanga 0794372169

4. Appendix 4: Photographs of IDCs at MCLWHS (2018 Inaugral Mapunugubwe Lecture)

IDCs attending the inaugural Lecture Series

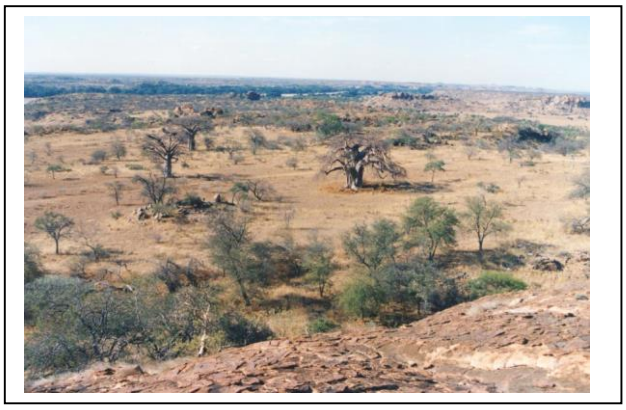
Left: SANParks (General Manager: Cultire Heritage Right: IDC member

Left: IDC member Middle: Academic Right: IDC member

5. Appendix 5: Photos of MCLWHS

Limpopo River, northeast from the Shashe confluence (DEA, 2015)

Rock at MCLWHS (DEA, 2015)



Schroder archaeological site (DEA, 2015)

Mapungubwe Hill from the south west (DEA, 2015)